# THE 1290 AD MASSACRE OF THE JEWS AT JURY'S GAP ROMNEY MARSH

**Bernard Leeman**

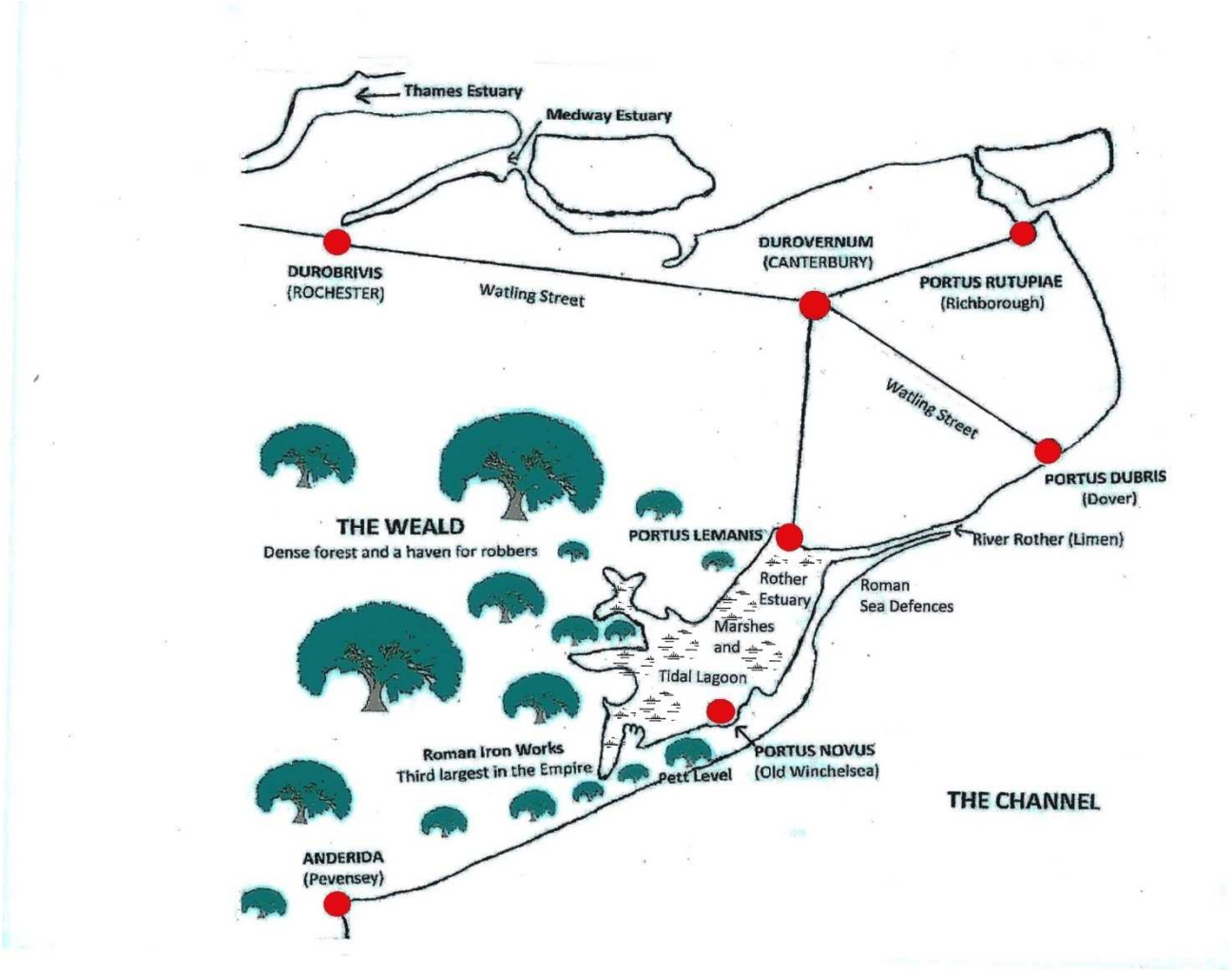
**2015**

# CONTENTS


Map 1 - The Romney Marsh in Roman Times 2
Map 2 - The Inland Lagoon in Roman Times 3
Map 3 - The Inland Lagoon in Late Anglo-Saxon Times 4
Map 4 - The Inland Lagoon between 1100 and the Great Storm Of 1287 5
Map 5 - The Inland Lagoon after the Great Storm Of 1287 6
Map 6 – New Winchelsea Sea Trade Routes 7
Introduction 8
Background 9
The Jews of Normandy 11
The Persecution of the Jews 13
Jewish Regulation 15
The Cinque Ports 17
Old Winchelsea 18
The Jews of the Romney Marsh 22
Jury's Gap 24
Jewish Insecurity 25
Medieval Jewish Cultural Resurgence 26
The Expulsion of the Jews 1290 27
*Notes* 30
*Bibliography* 30
***PHOTOS***
The relocated entrance gate of the Jews' Market in New Winchelsea 36
New Winchelsea Strand Gate 37
New Winchelsea Church of St Thomas the Martyr 37
The Sea Wall at Jury's Gap 38
Jury's Gap Village 38
The Beach at Jury's Gap 39
*The Author* 39

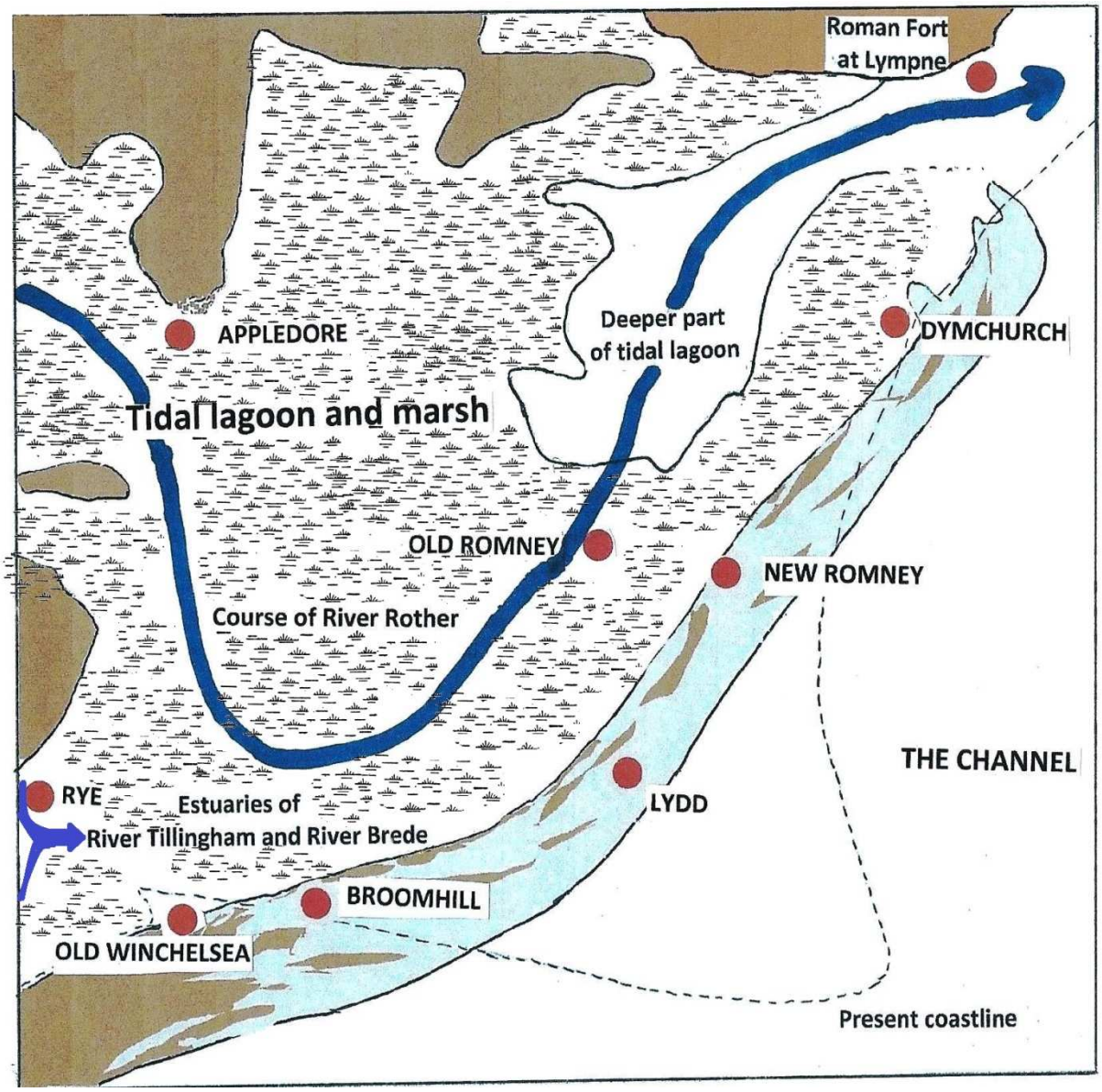
## MAP 1 - THE ROMNEY MARSH IN ROMAN TIMES

It is probable that the Romans shipped their iron from Winchelsea (Portus Novus) across the inland lagoon to Portus Lemanis, which led on to the Roman road network.



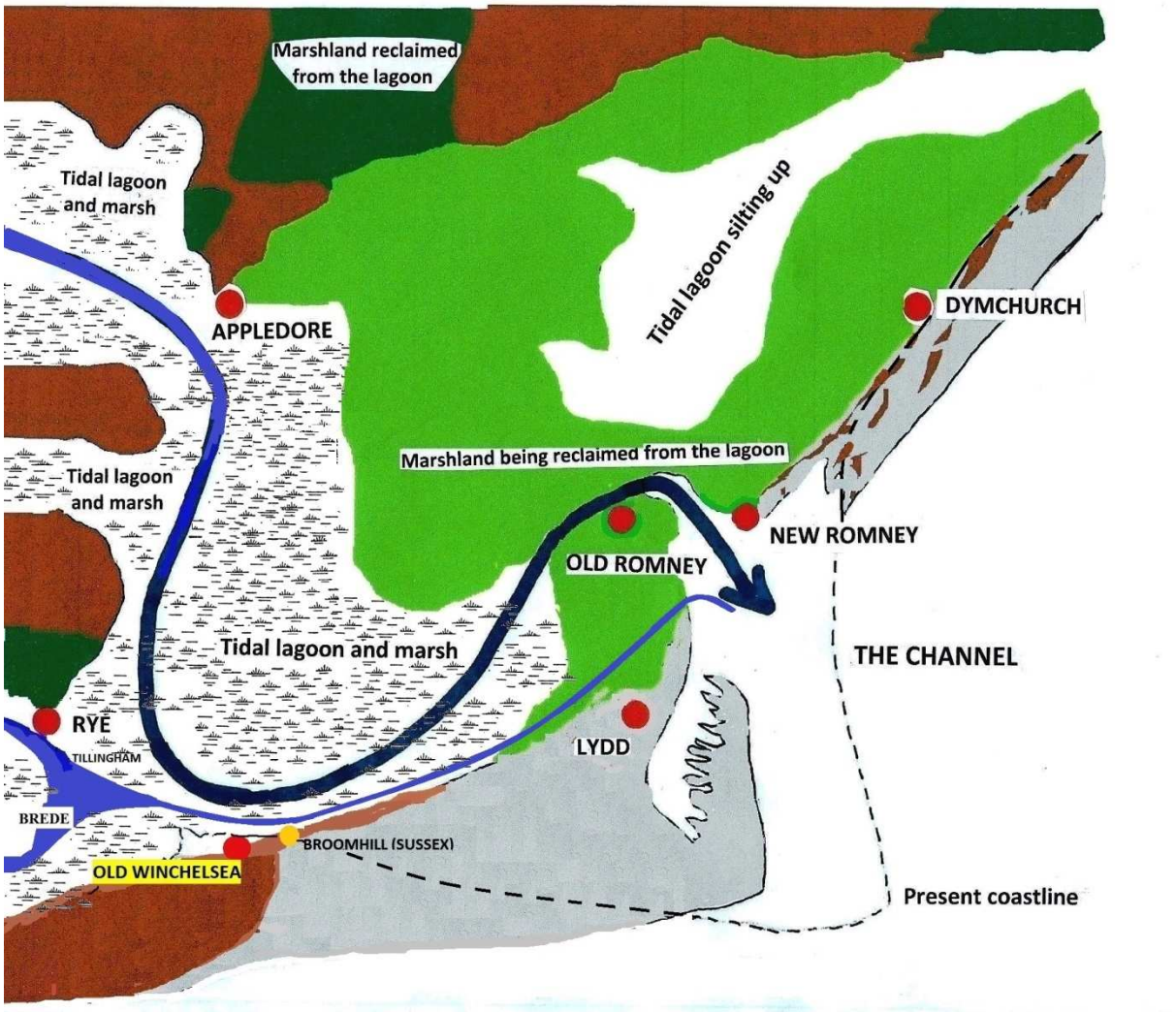
**MAP 2 - THE INLAND LAGOON IN ROMAN TIMES**

The River Rother crossed the inland lagoon and entered the sea next to the Roman Fort at Lympne (Portus Lemanis). The Brede and Tillingham rivers flowed into the lagoon and emptied into the sea around the same area as the Rother



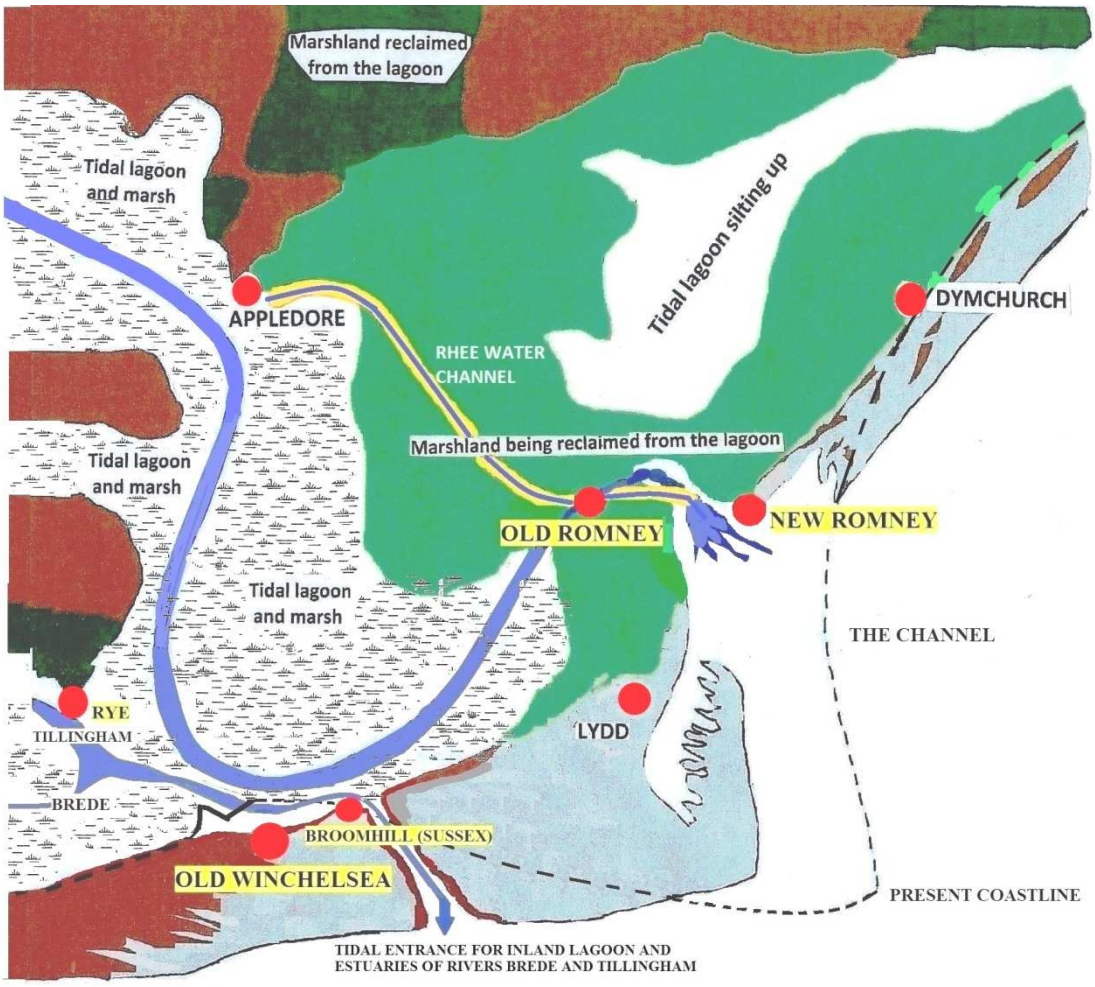
## MAP 3 - THE INLAND LAGOON IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

The Rother estuary at Lympne had silted up and the Rother diverted to New Romney. The Brede and Tillingham followed the northern side of the shingle bank to empty into the sea near New Romney.



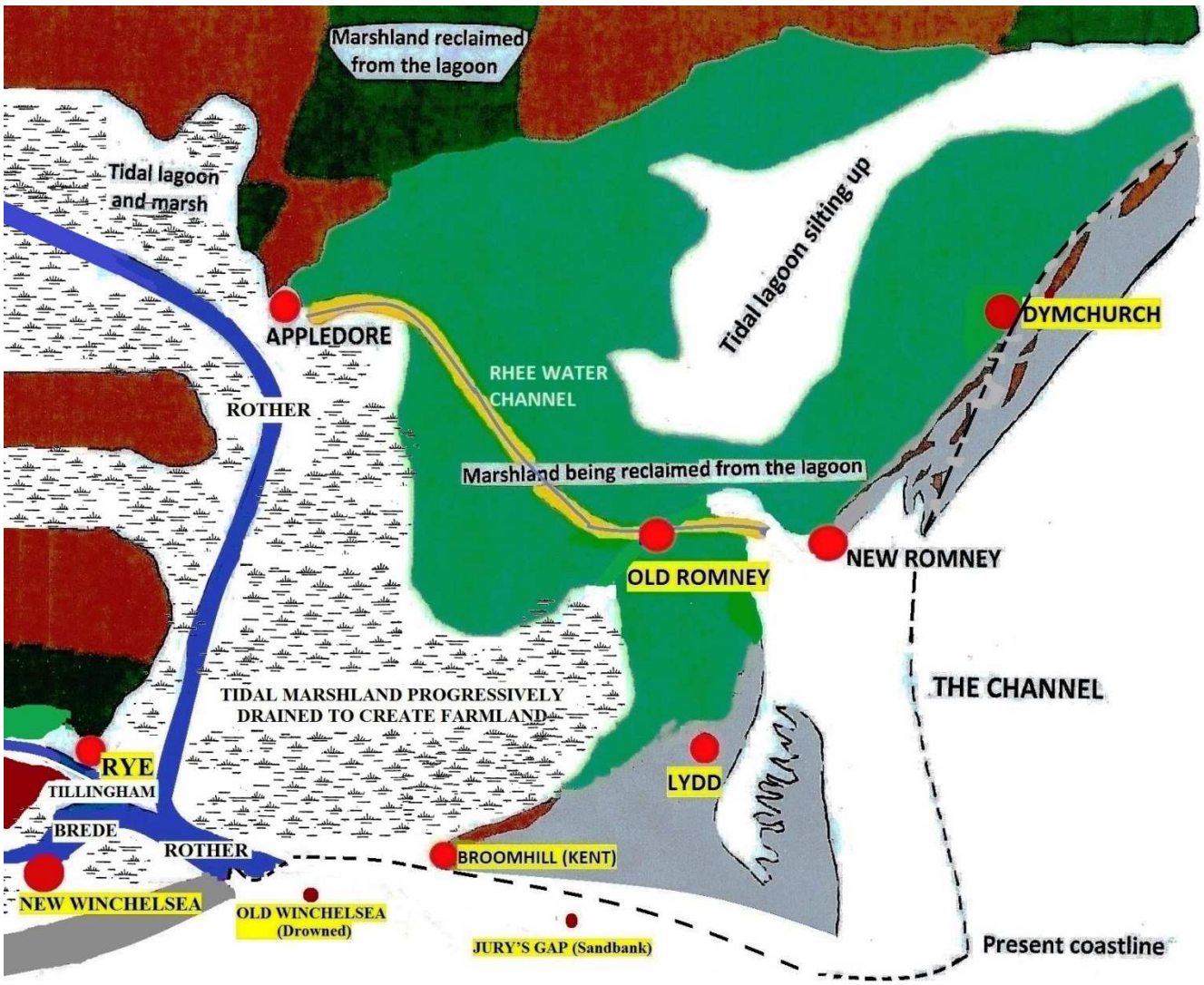
**MAP 4 - THE INLAND LAGOON BETWEEN 1100 AND THE THE GREAT STORM Of 1287**

The Rother had been swinging southwards and its estuary at New Romney was silting up. The Rhee water channel had been built in an unsuccessful attempt to bring water directly from the Rother at Appledore to flush away the silt at New Romney. The Brede and Tillingham rivers appear to have broken through the shingle barrier east of Broomhill (Sussex) giving Old Winchelsea easy access to the Channel, considerably enhancing its strategic commercial and naval importance.



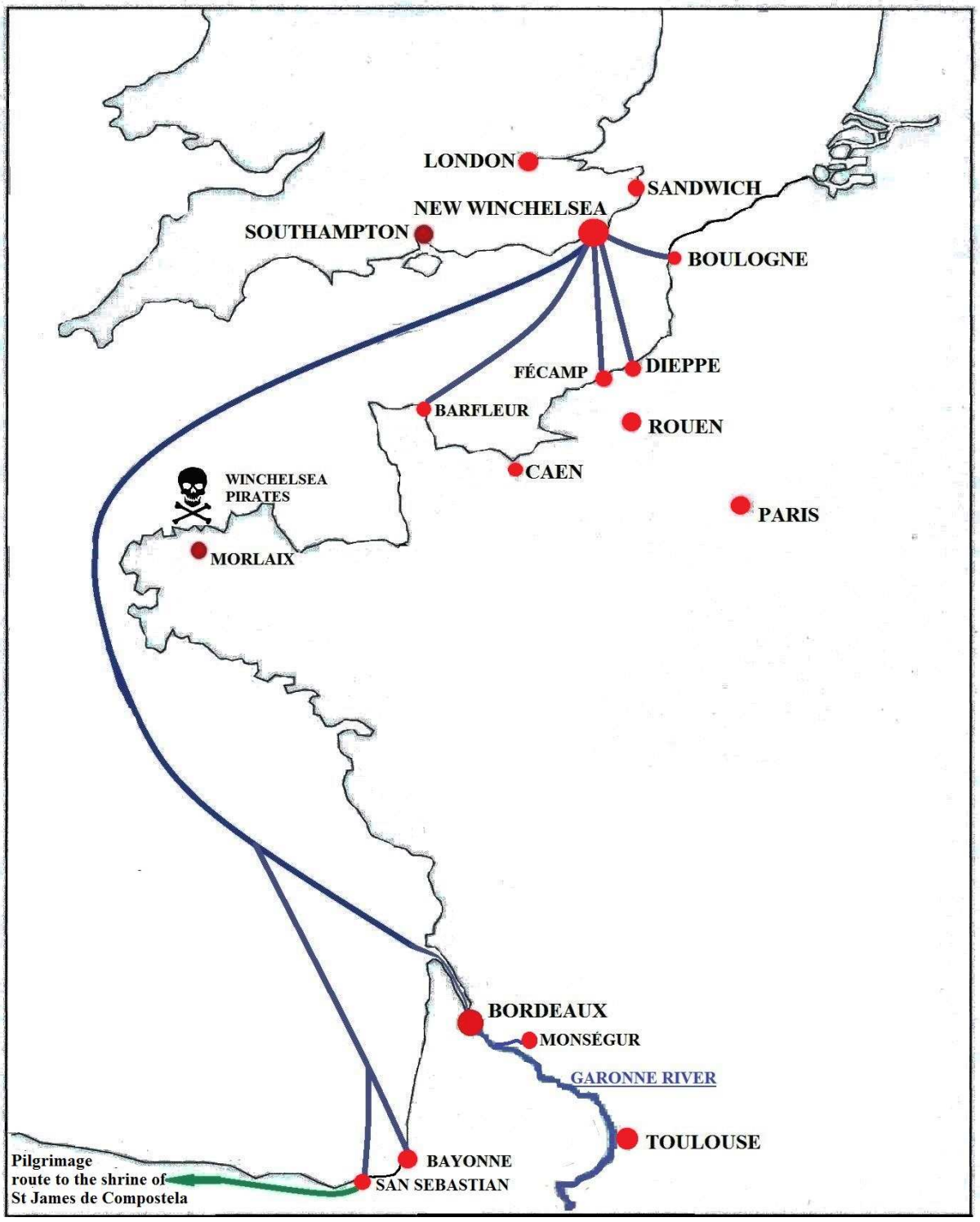
## MAP 5 - THE INLAND LAGOON AFTER THE GREAT STORM OF 1287

The Rother was deflected from its course to New Romney joining the Brede and Tillingham to exit around modern Rye Harbour. Old Winchelsea and Broomhill (Sussex) were swept away along with much of the shingle bank and coastline. New Winchelsea was established but soon failed. Rye rose in importance.



## MAP 6 – NEW WINCHELSEA SEA TRADE ROUTES

The major trading ports and other places of significance are listed below. Bordeaux was connected by the River Garonne to Toulouse. Monségur, a town on the River Le Dropt, was the model for New Winchelsea.



**INTRODUCTION**

I have very vivid memories of growing up on the Romney Marsh. My mother returned to Rye from Tanganyika in late 1945 and I was born, like most Rye children, at the maternity hospital in Ore, Hastings. The family home in Rye had been built to incorporate a post office and general goods shop in Udimore Road and we stayed there again after returning from Africa in 1950. We then moved to Camber Sands but returned to Rye in 1958. I also spent much time with my Uncle Ken Rook's family at Beckley. My mother used to cycle to work in all weathers from Camber across the golf links to the Rother Estuary where a ferry boat would take her to work at a concrete works next to the gravel pit at Rye Harbour. No alarm was given to us at Camber before or during the North Sea Storm of the night of 31 January/1 February in 1953 when the sea broke through at Broomhill. There were 2,551 recorded deaths, mostly in the Netherlands. In Britain, 307 died on land and 224 at sea. I always felt there was something sinister about the Channel and coastlines. Crossing the Rother estuary by rowing boat, even with the irrepressible ferryman Johnny Doughty, on a dark winter's evening at low tide next to rotting hulks and mud banks was far from cheering. In those days wartime mines sometimes blew on the beach and there was always the memory of the loss on 15 November 1928 of all seventeen crew members of the Rye Harbour lifeboat, the *Mary Stanford*, and the realisation that out there in the bay lay the ruins of the drowned town of Old Winchelsea (one trawler crew claimed their boat had once netted an ancient door). Although I used a punt on the River Brede and sometimes paddled a kayak up the Rock Channel and Rother into Rye Bay, I never shared the enthusiasm of my uncles and cousins for the sea (in those days it was not unusual for working class men in Rye to have substantial boats for pleasure). Happily, in the 1980's I went to the Pacific Islands where I became very interested in traditional boat building, the Polynesian epic voyages, and scuba diving.

My mother's eldest brothers, Ernest and Ronald Rook [(1)], encouraged my interest in Marsh history. Ernest was Rye's water engineer. In his work he often unearthed something interesting, such as the remains of ten beheaded skeletons in an underground chamber near Great St Mary's Church in Rye. Ron, who worked in family gas works industry at Strand Quay, used to take me on his motorcycle round the Marsh pointing out how the rivers and coastlines had changed over time. My mother's youngest brother Ken at Beckley (but mostly in West Africa, Guyana and Saudi Arabia) was an agricultural engineer. He had been apprenticed in the 1940's at his Uncle Bill West's gravel and engineering works on the Camber road (where Rye Water Sports now operates) and he was a great source of knowledge on the Marsh and Rye Harbour. Recently, my in-law Clive Pierce, a landscape gardener, has shown me medieval and possible Roman archaeological remains encountered in his work in Rye, New Winchelsea and elsewhere. I am also indebted to my great friend Trevor Choate of the Strand Quay Café, Rye, for his hospitality and valuable knowledge of the waterways of the Romney Marsh; and my niece, Dr Ro Charlton of the National University of Ireland, who began her career as a fluvial geographer with teenage studies of shingle drift at Winchelsea Beach and Shoreham.

Despite my fears of floods, underwater war-time debris and shipwrecks, my childhood on the marsh, dunes and beach was a wonderful experience. I left Rye in 1963 and returned to Tanganyika (Tanzania since 1964) in 1968. As a child, I used to swim at Jury's Gap when Camber Sands was overwhelmed by summer tourists. I thought the name "Jury's Gap" rather odd but it was not until I returned to England and visited Rye Library in 2011 that I read about the tragic events that took place there seven hundred and twenty five years ago.

Bernard Leeman
January 2015
sheba.edu@gmail.com

**BACKGROUND**

This booklet is about the relationship between the Norman monarchy and "their" Jews from 1066 until 1290, when England became the first country permanently to expel the Jews. It focuses on the area of the Romney Marsh, its rivers, villages and towns; and in particular Winchelsea (Old and New) and the events that led to the murder of the Jews at Jury's Gap.

The Romney Marsh is at the eastern end of the English Channel. The Channel appears to have been formed about 400,000 years ago. A vast lake of fresh water from major rivers such as the Rhine and Thames had been building up in the area of the present North Sea but had been prevented from flowing into the ocean by northern glaciers and a chalk wall in the south near the entrance of the present Straits of Dover. Before it burst through the chalk barrier, the lake was estimated to have been between 650 km (406 miles) wide and 350 km (218 miles) from north to south. When the chalk gave way, an immensely violent flood scoured the main course of the English Channel reaching down in some places to ninety metres. The torrent was the major breach that eventually separated England from France. For a time, dependent on sea levels, it was still possible for thousands of years to cross marshland from the south-east England to the European mainland. However, about 180,000 years ago, another enormous fresh water lake built up between the northern glaciers and an earth ridge that stretched from the present county of Suffolk to the modern location of The Hague in the Netherlands. When this earth barrier broke, the resultant torrent swept through the Straits of Dover widening the English Channel to more than 16 km (10 miles) in some areas [Gupta et al:2007] and seriously disrupting human migration from the mainland [*The Guardian (UK) 18 July 2007* quoting Cambridge University geologist, Professor Philip Gibbard]. Despite this catastrophe, the area between eastern England and Germany/the Netherlands, known as Doggerland, remained a marsh because of falling sea levels due to water being trapped in ice during the final ice age. The last ice age began receding around 10,500 BC but glaciers remained, gradually diminishing over the following millennia. The present area of the North Sea was finally inundated in a series of gigantic tsunamis (perhaps accompanied by earthquakes) known as the three *Storegga Slides* emanating from off the west coast of Norway. The last struck around 6000 BC, completing the separation of the British Isles from the mainland [Bodnevik et al:2003].

The Romney Marsh is therefore in an area which has endured dramatic topographical changes with concomitant social, economic and demographic consequences that have occurred since the Ice Age faded away and the seas rapidly rose, washing sand ashore. The Romney Marsh therefore started out as a wide sandy bay with sand deposits about ten metres deep [Rye Museum website]. The process continues today with Camber Sand Dunes, which formed only two hundred years ago, continuing to increase, and the creation of several sand bars, one of which obstructs the entrance of Rye Harbour. However, other debris from the devastated land torn apart and submerged by the formation of the English Channel has played a major role in its history. At first the marsh was dominated by sand but then large amounts of shingle began to be washed in from the west from about 5000 BC onwards [Eddison:1998:68]. Deposits at Broomhill, for example, are considerably older than elsewhere [Green 1988:167]. The shingle (commercially known as *gravel*) is 99% flint and generally agreed to have originated from coastal erosion in Dorset, Hampshire and West Sussex [Eddison et al 1983:41]. Mapping of the shingle banks is mostly speculative. One authoritative study suggests that there were eight major changes [Long et al: 2009] but their date and composition is impossible to ascertain. However, eventually the shingle formed a coastal barrier eastwards from Fairlight near Hastings up to Hythe with tidal inlets first at Lympne, the Romney and finally at Rye Harbour. The Romney Marsh behind the barrier was

transformed into a huge tidal lagoon up to where Bodiam Castle stands, with sandbars, mudflats, shingle banks, islands, creeks and fresh water river valleys. The dominant river, the Rother, flowed to New Romney until the Great Storm of 1287 when a large section of the coastline was washed away and the river was deflected to its present course skirting Rye and linking up with the Brede and Tillingham. Its remoteness and maze of shallow waterways made the marsh a smugglers' paradise. From the early medieval period, the marsh was systematically drained and now supports sheep farming. Apart from the short tidal outlet to Rye Harbour, lock and sluice gates have reduced the Rother, Tillingham and Brede rivers to relative trickles.

In pre-Roman days, the port of Romney, at the old mouth of the River Rother, was the border between the Cantii and Artrebates, two Celtic tribes that exported iron, slaves and hunting dogs to the continent. The Roman name for the Rother was *Limen*, which is Latin for "boundary". The Celts were engaged in iron working before Julius Caesar's two raids of 55-54 BC but, although Caesar did not seem interested in this industry, it appears that the later invasion of 43 AD put iron as a major priority. The Romans took over the Weald iron-working area. Beauport Park, near Hastings, was the site of what is considered to have been the third largest iron working site in the Roman Empire [Wealden Iron Research Group 2003]. Other ironworks were at Brede, Broad Oak, Icklesham, Beckley, and Peasmarsh. The area was on the southern edge of the Weald (named the Forest of *Anderida* in Roman times and Pevensey was known as *Anderida Portus*), a huge area of dense forest that stretched to London and provided timber for ship building and charcoal for iron smelting. Crossing the Weald was difficult and dangerous. The land route to London avoided the Weald by going eastwards to Canterbury and then north westwards. Iron was exported through the local ports, including Rye, where the original docks were swept away along with the eastern section of the town in 1375. During the Roman occupation, the Weald of East Sussex at its zenith produced an estimated 750 tons of iron per year. This declined to less than 200 tons after 250 AD [Cleere:79-84].

Even in the time of the Roman Republic, Germanic peoples were pushing into Western Europe and although temporarily halted by Gaius Marius in 101 BC, and his nephew Julius Caesar in 58 BC, they continued to infiltrate through trade and invitation to such an extent that by the 4$^{th}$ century AD most of the Western Roman army including its commanders were Germanic [Cameron & Garnsey:111-112]. The Western Roman Empire, beset by numerous problems, withdrew from Britain around 403 AD and left the Romano-British population to fend for itself. Angles, Saxons, Frisians and Jutes (collectively known as *Anglo-Saxons*) began establishing settlements but then flooded into the island in large numbers after 536/7 AD when a temporary catastrophic climatic change devastated their North Sea coastal homelands [Keys:109-131]. Historical evidence is sketchy but it appears the Romano-Britons were ousted, killed or absorbed, and a number of Germanic kingdoms established. The Romney Marsh came under the Kingdom of the South Saxons (Sussex) and the Jutish Kingdom of Kent [Harrington:2010]. These early Germanic administrations were then shattered by Danish-Norwegian Viking raids and invasions from 793 AD onwards. The reasons for the Viking expansion were more complex than the Anglo-Saxons'[Brink 2008] but the result was that northern and eastern England became Viking. Of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, only Wessex survived. After Danish-Wessex conflicts, Athelstan, grandson of Alfred the Great of Wessex, created the first Kingdom of England (894-939), which then became united with Denmark under King Canute (1016–1035). Canute was succeeded by his two sons, Harold Harefoot and Harthcnut, who both died young, and they were succeeded by their half-brother, Edward the Confessor of the Wessex royal house (1042-1066). Edward

was hard pressed to combat the rising power of Earl Godwin, whom he held responsible for his brother's death from blinding [Stenton 2001; Mortimer 2009]. Edward had no children and the succession was unclear when he died. Earl Harold Godwinson of Wessex (Edward's brother in law), Duke William of Normandy (supported by the Pope), and King Harald Hardrada of Norway (who had already failed to get Denmark) all claimed the throne. The Anglo-Saxon hierarchy proclaimed Earl Harold king. Hardrada landed in England in late summer 1066 and enjoyed several successes before King Harold, waiting in the south to repel the imminent Norman invasion, made a rapid march of four days covering 300 km (185 miles) to take him by surprise. Harold defeated and killed Hardrada at Stamford Bridge on 25 September 1066 [DeVries:276-296]. On 28 September, three days later, Duke William landed at Pevensey near Hastings, unsure whether he would be fighting a victorious Anglo-Saxon or Norwegian army. Harold reached London but angrily rejected advice to gather further troops, fortify London, and wait for William's advance. William ravaged Sussex in a successful attempt to bring Harold south to defend his subjects. Harold repeated his tactic of a rapid march, perhaps hoping to catch the Normans at their shoreline camp but William was alerted by scouts and moved forward to confront Harold on 14 October. The two armies were probably equal in numbers, both were tired (the Normans from standing to all night followed by a rapid morning march carrying their equipment). Harold lacked archers but held the higher ground with his back to a forest. He could not be outflanked and his troops astonished the Normans by repelling their early attacks. However, as dusk fell, the English shield wall broke and Harold and his brothers were killed. Resistance continued but there was no credible national English leader and the church hierarchy quickly surrendered to William, who replaced them with Normans [Morris:2102].

The population of Roman Britain was around three to four million but then dropped so that by 1066 the population of England was between 1.5 and 2.5 million. The Norman settlers are estimated to have numbered eight to twelve thousand but formed the peak of the ecclesiastical and political pyramid. The Anglo-Saxon nobility fled into exile, many replacing Vikings as elite troops in the Byzantine Empire [Pappas 2004]. Only about 8% of the nobility remained behind [Wood:248-9]. Their lands were parcelled out to Norman and Flemish lords and clergy. For security, the Normans fortified themselves in moated castles with permanent garrisons sustained by tenant farmers. Unlike the Anglo-Saxons, who divided land between all surviving sons, the Normans passed entire estates to eldest sons [Powicke:43-44, Raff:39-40], which caused younger sons to seek land through conquest in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Italy, France and the Holy Land. Administration was complicated, as in the later days of the Western Roman Empire, by sharing some jurisdiction with the Church, which also destabilised the economy and monarchy with its insistence of waging crusades and eliminating Judaism.

**THE JEWS OF NORMANDY**

William the Conqueror was responsible for the migration of Jews from Normandy to England. At their zenith in 1240 there were about three thousand [most authorities] to five thousand [Oxford Jewish Heritage] but by 1272 only about half remained. At the time of the 1290 expulsion less than two thousand had lingered on - a disproportionate number of them women, children and elderly (due to the coin clipping execution of male heads of household), many who were murdered as they left [*Haaretz* David B. Green, Nov. 17, 2013]. They were nevertheless quite a sizeable group given the numbers of the Christian Norman population.

The original homeland of the Jews is a contentious issue [(2)] but all authorities agree that they established themselves in the area of modern Palestine/Israel around 450 BC. The name

"Jew" is derived from the ancient Kingdom of Judah (ca.1000–586 BC), which was the realm of two tribes called Judah and Benjamin. The Old Testament is their historical and theological statement and was put together around 450 BC by a group of writers and editors associated with the Zadokite priest-scribe Ezra in Persian-ruled Babylon and Jerusalem [Thompson 1992, 1999; Davies 1992, Whitelam 1996, Lemche 1998]. As a result of risings against Roman rule (70-135 AD), the Jews were exiled from the Holy Land. Thousands made Europe their new home and became involved with the Radhanite global Jewish trading network that existed from about 500-1000 AD and passed through Islamic lands and included the Silk Road to China [Gil:1974]. Jewish families, with cosmopolitan transcontinental trading experience and exposure to Indo-Arabic mathematics, developed carefully guarded methods of accounting, maintaining trading ledgers and drawing up commercial agreements [Parker 1989]. In an age when literacy guaranteed profitable employment, the Jews, with their cultural emphasis on law, literacy and numeracy, were a valuable asset as commerce became more complex and the Germanic tribes began rebuilding international systems badly disrupted through the fall of the Western Roman Empire and competition from the rise of Islam.

Some Jews seem to have visited, undertaken military service, and even settled in Britain in Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking times. There was a lucrative sea-borne trade before, during and after Roman colonisation of Britain connecting the Levant and eastern Mediterranean with Wales and Cornwall and this also involved tin and lead mining. The years up until 146 BC (The Roman destruction of Carthage) would have involved the Phoenicians and their Carthaginian relatives. The Jewish Law of Moses (Torah) denounced Moloch, the Phoenician/Carthaginian god to whom children were sacrificed, so Jewish merchants were probably involved in the British trade only *after* the destruction of Carthage when the Romans took over its trade routes [Roth 1941:6]. When the Jews settled in 5$^{th}$ century BC Palestine they were speaking Aramaic not Hebrew. Foreign trade words in Hebrew and other evidence indicate that in Solomon's time (ca. 950 BC) the Jews were most likely based in West Arabia and trading with India [Salibi 1978: Leeman 2005; Rabin 1971]. Therefore place names in Cornwall said to derive from Canaanite (the language the Hebrew adopted after Joshua's invasion ca.1200 BC) were more probably of Phoenician origin. Since Palestine, unlike Lebanon, did not possess major ports, the Jews probably only became westward maritime traders after the 70 AD destruction of Jerusalem, the horrendous Roman reprisals following the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132-135 AD, and their expulsion from the Holy Land. Diaspora Jews established a large presence in Europe, especially Spain, and records suggest that some fled from Germany to Britain around 810 AD [Mundill:3; Cohen 1858]. Jews later became major military suppliers and it is probable that some would have been involved in supplying the needs of the Roman garrison in Britain. They were exiles but the Romans at first tolerated their religion. Jews only became threatened when the Roman Empire declared Christianity its official religion in 380 AD. There does not seem to have been a Jewish community in England between the Roman withdrawal and the Norman invasion of 1066 [Scheil 2004; Roth:7] although one work suggests there was a Jewish trading post near York called Iudanfyrig that survived the Viking invasion [Hirschman & Yates 2014], which could possibly have been a remnant of an early trading post serving the Roman *colonia* and the six thousand strong Roman garrison [City of York Council: 20 December 2006].

The Norman Conquest gave the Jews of France a new lease of life. Charlemagne (800-828), the Germanic founder of the Holy Roman Empire, allowed the Jews free reign in their commercial activities [Scheindlin:101] but the Radhanite network disintegrated in the last years of the 10$^{th}$ century. The emergent Italian merchant states no longer had any use for

Jewish intermediaries between Christian and Islamic states (one of the major Silk Road states had been Khazar, which converted to Judaism). The loss of the Jewish controlled spice trade was one of the main reasons for the 15th century Portuguese expeditions to find a spice route around southern Africa to Indonesia, and Columbus's expeditions westwards to the Americas. The Jews continued to be protected in France until the reign of Robert II (996-1031), who was called "the Pious" for burning Christian heretics and Jews who refused conversion [MacCulloch:396]. In 1065 Crusaders massacred French Jews while en route to attack Moorish Spain despite orders by Pope Alexander II (1061-1073) that force should not be used to convert Jews [Virtual Jewish Library: Christian-Jewish Relations: The Crusades 1095-1291].

**THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS**

The reasons for persecution of the Jews are numerous and complex. Judging from the experience of Jews worldwide, in particular in communities in Ethiopia and India where there was no commercial resentment; in China where Christianity was absent; and in communities elsewhere such as Germany and Bohemia where Jews assimilated, it is clear that the main reason for their persecution was not financial but *Matthew 27:25*, a New Testament verse which is most probably a vicious fabrication by a senior Christian leader determined to get revenge on Jews not for any involvement in Christ's crucifixion but from the early days of bitter relations between the two beliefs when Christianity ceased being a Jewish sect [Lane Fox 1987]. Whatever the motive, St Matthew's Gospel states that a Jewish mob, supporting the high priesthood and King Herod, told Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, that they and their descendants for eternity would accept responsibility for Christ's death. Even without St Matthew, Christians resented the Jews' refusal to accept Christ's divinity and other theological concepts. Jews did not believe in the afterlife let alone Christ's Kingdom of Heaven. While Christianity and Judaism remained two of many religions in the Roman Empire, their theological rivalries were not a source of concern. However, when Christianity became the Imperial religion in 380, Christianity no longer remained a faith but a means of power and control, attracting all sorts of vicious, unsavoury bureaucrats. Although King William Rufus (1087-1100) could tease Christian clerics by suggesting that he would embrace Judaism or Christianity depending on an open debate [Roth 1941:8], the Church was uncompromising, demanding the eradication of Judaism. Martin Luther, the great Protestant reformer (1483–1546), seriously exacerbated the situation when he denounced the Jews in obscene terms for rejecting Christ, stating his fellow Germans should have slaughtered them [Luther: 268-271]

A major source of Christian hatred was Jewish control of usury, the practice of lending money at exorbitant interest rates. The Jews adopted usury from the Babylonians, who charged 20% interest, The Book of Deuteronomy 23:19-20, written by Ezra's circle after the Babylonian captivity ca. 450 BC, permitted Jews to charge non–Jews interest on loans. The Romans allowed private individuals to charge interest but their system of mathematics was problematic, being based on MDCLXVI and a base of 12, so that after 12% the rate jumped to 24% and then 48% [Temin: 15-16]. Money lenders were at first small traders and businessmen but were replaced by wealthy operators in the 3rd century AD who drove the peasant class into despair and serfdom as they desperately tried to find money to pay rising taxes [Peden: 2009]. As a reaction, when Christianity was "standardised" at the First Council of Nicaea in 325 AD, clergy were forbidden to charge any interest on loans, even 1%. Later councils forbade any Christian from charging interest. Eventually usury became an excommunicable offence [Young: 81-82]. Jews, however, were exempt from Canon (Church) Law and could charge interest on loans and it is clear that Jews were already

successful traders before Moses Maimoides (1135-1204), the most prominent and influential Jewish scholar of his era, reiterated that Jews could charge gentiles interest [Jewish Encyclopedia, Usury, Views of Maimonides and the Shulḥan 'Aruk]. This was most probably to compensate for commercial losses caused by frequent feudal warfare, dynastic conflicts, crusading and the loss of the Silk Road monopolies. In addition, usury enabled Jews to accumulate liquid movable assets, often preferable to buildings and land in unpredictable Christian societies.

Lastly, there was the matter of conflicting spiritual realities. Christians and Jews shared the Old Testament. Christians respected the Jews for compiling the definitive Hebrew (with some parts in Aramaic) edition of the Old Testament ca. 950 AD, which then later served as the basis for Protestant translations into the vernacular. The Old Testament is a highly detailed historical account of the Hebrew, Israelites and Jews from around 2000 BC until about 450 BC and their relationship with the One True God. In contrast, very little is known about Jesus Christ. He was probably a direct descendant of the last King of Judah and his grandson Zerubbabel, who founded the Second Temple. His ministry lasted three years, he left no written record, and he may have been executed because he had a volatile popular following and a better claim to the throne than Herod. His sayings were probably memorised as Aramaic poetry before being translated into Greek. His original followers gravitated around his brother James and Mary Magdalene (if the Gnostic Gospels are correct) and continued to worship in the Second Temple. Had the Jews not been expelled from the Holy Land it is probable that Christianity would have remained a Jewish sect emphasising the kinder more tolerant faith practised before Ezra's reforms [Leeman 2015]. This form of Christianity faded away to be replaced by St Paul's interpretation that appealed more to Hellenised Jews and pagans. In contrast, Jesus held no relevance to the Jews who fled the Holy Land after 135 AD and, apart from some obscure minor references, held no place in their religious and historical heritage. They, like the Muslims, regarded Jesus as a human being with no divine attributes. They did not accept the resurrection let alone the Second Coming and the Kingdom of Heaven. Some Jewish commentators such as modern Progressive rabbis and Rabbi Jacob Emden (1697-1776), a major Torah scholar rivalling Maimoides (who habitually linked any mention of Jesus with "May his bones be ground into dust") have however written favourably on aspects of Jesus' ministry [Magid:304]

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), the Florentine master revealer of unscrupulous political realities, observed that Christianity had been a very bad choice as the Roman Empire's official religion. He felt it was in many ways the revenge of a once persecuted fundamentalist class bent on narrow minded totalitarian conformity backed by torture and sadistic long drawn out executions. It rejected everything that had gone before, stifled original thought and bedevilled governance by introducing a parallel system. He castigated the church for having leaders who knew less about religion than their flock. He argued that before Christianity pagans were "self-assured enough in their wisdom to govern themselves in a civilized manner, while keeping religion and deities on the margins and at bay from politics, law and economics"[Makolkin:15]. Machiavelli was hardly alone. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, written around the 1360's, is a very humorous account of English cynicism towards Church corruption and other aspects of medieval life. Although written after the Black Death (1346–53), which destroyed much faith in the Church [Epstein:182], ordinary people in the 13th century, as now, did not necessarily blindly follow what the government told them to do but the Church had demonized the Jews to such as extent that there could be no compromise.

As Duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror favoured the Jews to such an extent that it has been suggested his mother was a Jewess [Hirschman:68]. They had endured persecution in France and were grateful for his unusual attitude. Many Jews from Rouen crossed to England and were guaranteed protection by the king [Thomas:100; Roth:8]. They were self-supporting through trade and some money lending (later a major occupation). With liquid assets they were able to relocate at short notice as they had been forced to in past persecutions. They took advantage of the new opportunities of the Norman Conquest but many also fled from Rouen after 1096 when Christian knights starting out on the First Crusade massacred Jews in Rouen and elsewhere [Roth 1941:9]. Not surprisingly, the Jews at first established themselves in ports and trading centres in Sussex, Kent, London and Southampton, where they were allowed to buy land and live alongside Christians among whom they were often initially popular [Miller & Hatcher 2014 on Cambridge, Oxford, Norwich and Winchester; Elukin 2007 on wider picture]. Jewish money lenders funded Christian building programs such as hospitals and monasteries. However, Jews endured constant anxiety and lived close to castles for protection. The Normans ruled in England and France. Jews often crossed to England to escape persecution in France. Since the Norman ruling class was involved in both territories, the Jews in England suffered at the hands of French based aristocrats who had persecuted Jews before settling in England. The English Jews continued to keep in touch with their northern French co-religionists through family ties, commerce, literature and the appointment of rabbis. Meticulous medieval records suggest the English Jewish population never exceeded three thousand. Nevertheless the Jews had a disproportionate highly visible profile as they were scattered throughout the realm, had a distinctive appearance, spoke French [Hillaby:1] and were closely associated with the ruling Normans, urban centres and high finance [Cooper 2009:134].

**JEWISH REGULATION**

King Richard the Lionheart (1189-1199) created a special government department to deal with Jewish affairs, which is why there is such a wealth of documentary evidence about the English Jews before their expulsion in 1290. The Exchequer of the Jews, based in Westminster, was decidedly a mixed blessing. Jewish affairs were carefully monitored and financial transactions deposited in *archae* (singular *archa*) in urban centres throughout the realm, although curiously there was none at Old Winchelsea or Southampton [Gross:182-190]. Thus, the king had a very clear idea of Jewish wealth and the amount he could extort for "protection." This system was also designed to have a central record to counter debtors murdering Jews and destroying evidence of what they owed. The records show that there were about eighty Jewish communities but, despite efforts to confine the Jews to urban centres, some were in rural communities and may not have been involved in commerce or money lending. During the reigns of King Richard and King John, there was a conflict between the monarchy, which wanted to prosper from Jewish taxation; and the nobility, which wanted to get rid of the Jews who had lent them money [Roth 1941:10 on 1144 "ritual murder" of William of Norwich]. When King Richard was imprisoned for over a year on his return from the Crusades through German lands, the English Jews had to raise about two thirds of his ransom, paying three times the amount given by the City of London [Roth 1941:23; Rees-Jones:93; McLynn 2007]. King John's disastrous French campaign led to the loss of Normandy in 1204 [Duby:1990], which cut the English Jews from their main commercial, family and religious networks. Continued taxation such as the crippling Bristol Tallage by King John [Oxford Jewish Learning] persuaded many to quit England afterwards, some joining French Jews to accompany the Crusaders and make a home in the Holy Land [Cuffel:61-63]. Jews were accused of supplying Greek Fire [*Virtual Jewish Library*, London, Medieval Period], an incendiary weapon similar to napalm whose secret formula has been

lost [*New Scientist* 7 September 2012], to the troops of King Henry III, King John's son. Henry III (1216 –1272) hardly deserved Jewish loyalty. Between 1240 and 1255 Jewish taxation provided about ten per cent of royal revenue although the Jews formed only 0.1% of the population. No Jews attended the king's funeral [Utterback:119]. There was of course the perpetual religious element. After the accession of Edward I, his "pious" mother, Eleanor of Provence, who had profited enormously from dealing with English Jews [Mundill:62-63] nevertheless expelled them from Andover, Cambridge, Gloucester, Marlborough, and Worcester. She has been described as anti-Semitic [Prestwich:346] but she was extremely unpopular for favouring her maternal uncles and being associated with King Henry's financial mismanagement [Howell 1987: 372-93; Howell 1998]. Her strategy may have been to label the Jews as scapegoats. Her withdrawal to a convent may have been indicative of widespread disapproval.

As the feudal states demanded more conformity, the position of the Jews became increasingly precarious. Moves were made to limit new arrivals and in the 13th century their dim-witted feudal overlords eventually realised that taxing them was a wiser choice than asking for loans that had to be repaid. Jews could (and were) replaced by Lombards, citizens of the states of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice who had been granted permission to loan money at high interest and had, with Jewish help, replaced the cumbersome Roman numeral system with Jewish accounting methods [Parker 1989]. The Lombards often moved into vacated Jewish neighbourhoods with names changed from, for example, Jews' Street to Lombard Street [Golb:55 onwards]. Consequently Jewish usefulness evaporated and they lacked the political backing enjoyed by the Italian Christian city states [Roth 1941:7]. Another group of money lenders where the Cahorsians, from Cahors in the wine producing area of south west France that exported "black wine" through Bordeaux [Geisst 2013:1-4]. It is conceivable that Cahorsians, reviled for usury by medieval commentators such as the Benedictine monk Matthew Paris (ca. 1200–1259), may have operated in Old and New Winchelsea.

The Jews were ordered to collect varying amounts of taxes depending on how their wealth was assessed. This erratic method had grave consequences. There were only two periods between 1159 and 1288 where the amount exceeded two thousand pounds but in the 1230's this rose to almost ten thousand pounds and then three thousand in the 1280's [Mundill:40 with chart of Jewish Tallages 1159-1288; Hillaby:3-15]. The sudden spike meant the Jews had to call in their debts to pay the tax and therefore immensely stressed their debtors, many of whom would have been Christian feudal military men with attitude. In the late 1920's a similar pattern was repeated in Germany, resulting in a sudden massive rise in support for the Nazi Party [Fulbrook:21, 46]. Roth [199] records instances in the late 13th century when Christians were engaged in unsanctioned usury, even lending to Jews.

The English Jews drew on hundreds of years of commercial experience in France and elsewhere, besides having a network of mostly trustworthy co-religionists locally and on the continent. It is acknowledged that the English Jews did much to get the idea of using credit to drive the economy accepted and bring diversification and sophistication into financial affairs. They pioneered investment loans, property development, mortgages and pawn brokerage. They helped develop secure methods of recording transactions and records of debt settlement, often using jigsaw-like pieces divided between two or three participants. They built in stone, revitalised decaying neighbourhoods, spread the idea of leasing property, and used land and property as collateral for loans. Christians were frequently horrified to learn "Christ killers" had financed the construction of their church, sometimes holding Christian sacred objects as collateral. Henry III's Statute of Jewry of 1275 forbade Jews to practise usury so many

turned to counterfeiting and coin clipping (shaving off layers of silver from coins). The problem became so severe that in spring 1278 Henry of Winchester (a converted Jew) and his assistant Matthew de Scaccario (aka Matthew Cheker, i.e. of the *Exchequer*), later Attorney General in 1308 [Parliamentary History 1806] were commissioned to investigate. They travelled around England buying clipped silver coins and recording names. On 17 November 1278, royal authorities raided all Jews suspected of coin clipping and counterfeiting. In London some 680 were imprisoned in the Tower and 269 executed. Next, Christian goldsmith accomplices were also arrested and twenty nine in London were executed. More executions took place outside the capital [Allen:374-5]

It has been estimated that Jewish lending rates were 43.3% per annum, the same rate allowed by Philip Augustus (1165-1223) in France, which amounted in the 13th century to between two pence/deniers or three/deniers pence on the pound (240 pence/deniers) a week but it was frequently much higher. King John II of France (1319-1364) allowed this to be doubled in 1360. However, Frederick II of Sicily set the rate in 1231 at 10 per cent, Alfonso X in Castile (Spain) at 25 per cent, while in Aragon in 1231 the 20 per cent maximum was reduced to 12 per cent [Jewish Encyclopedia: Usury]. English records state that 150% was sometimes charged. Usury was the main source of Jewish wealth but could only be guaranteed by a sound legal system and royal patronage. Jews were recorded as loaning fellow Jews money at the same rate as Christians but often charged far less, such as 12% annually. Only a few Jews were into high finance and lived ostentatiously. Many survived by pawn broking, smartening up unredeemed goods for resale [Lipman:1968; Shatzmiller 1990]. Their financial outlook was always insecure. The estate of the formidable Aaron of Lincoln (who appears in Sir Walter Scott's novel *Ivanhoe*), was confiscated after his death by King Henry II to fund adventures in France, although the entire treasure was lost at sea off Shoreham [Jacobs 1898:629-648].

**THE CINQUE PORTS**

In 1155 a Norman Royal Charter established the Cinque Ports confederation of Kent and Sussex in south east England The original ports were Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover and Sandwich. In 1287 New Romney was severely damaged in the Great Storm and Rye replaced it. New Winchelsea became an equal partner while other towns, villages and coastal settlements joined them in various forms of association so that eventually the Cinque Ports Confederation had forty-two members. In the Middle Ages the Cinque Ports were of significant commercial and naval importance. They were required to provide fifty seven ships with crews for the king for fifteen days each a year. In exchange, the Norman monarchs, in keeping with their Viking heritage, allowed the Cinque Ports much autonomy including privateering, that is, to attack enemy ships in wartime. However, this privilege was abused, in particular by Old Winchelsea, which became a pirate haven [Winchelsea Net]. The Cinque Ports were exempted from tax and tolls. They enjoyed a considerable amount of self-government, could levy tolls and punish those who caused violence or were fugitives from justice. They were allowed to punish those guilty of minor crimes but also to execute criminals. They were allowed to keep unclaimed lost goods, cargo thrown overboard, and floating wreckage [Royal Charter 1155]. Such leniency led to massive smuggling. Old Winchelsea is an interesting example of English developments later in all parts of the world where small islands and outposts became centres for controversial enterprises such as the opium trade or tax avoidance. Even though Winchelsea was notorious for piracy, its mayor, Gervase Alard, was appointed Admiral of the Western Fleet in 1300 [Cooper 1850:156], commanding all ships from ports westwards to Cornwall, in a tradition followed by Drake, Hawkins, Morgan and other English privateers [Hager 2008; Ronald 2007].

**OLD WINCHELSEA**

Old Winchelsea was one of England's three main ports along with London and Southampton, until it was swept away in a series of storms in the 13th century (see below). It may have been the Roman port of Portus Novus mentioned by Ptolemy [Brayley:25], although Rye, Hastings and Seaford share that claim. The iron working site at Beauport was close to Hastings [Miller]. If Hastings had a port in Roman days it is lost, like Old Winchelsea. Seaford had a Roman camp. It lost the River Ouse to Newhaven in the Great Storm of 1287. Old Winchelsea was better placed than either Rye or Seaford for exporting iron. The iron trade ceased when the Romans left. From ancient sources it appears Old Winchelsea was established on an island or a peninsular connected by a narrow causeway to the mainland. The name Winchelsea has many interpretations, some specifically linked to a giant shingle bank, citing Chesil Bank, Portland, Dorset, which takes its name from the Anglo-Saxon word *ceosel* or *cisel* meaning *shingle.* Most commentators believe that the town was built on the shingle bank but it is more likely the bank arrived later and served as a barrier to the Channel as well as fortifying the causeway as the Chesil Bank partly does with the island of Portland. There seems to have been some confusion between Portland and Old Winchelsea as both were referred to by the Roman name of Vindelis. One source states that Old Winchelsea was originally known as Winkles Island. Winkles were an ancient important food source but they cling to rock not shingle. Today they are found in the Newhaven area far to the west of where Old Winchelsea used to exist. The Anglo-Saxon word for winkle was *uinca* but it was taken directly from Romanised Britons who used the Latin word *vinca* (pronounced *winka*). The Anglo-Saxon for island was *ey* (as in *Selsey = Seals Island,* and the *"e"* part of *Rye*, which originally referred to an island). Using the Anglo-Saxon genitive, *'s or s'* (still used today as in *Mary's husband* or *the girls' books*) *uincas sey* (Winkles' Island) would sound very much like *Winchelsea*. There are, however, several other theories. A popular traffic island in Hastings town centre is called Winkle Island.

The most accurate pointers to Old Winchelsea's location are probably those by the colourful Rye religious non-conformist Samuel Jeake (1623–1690) in his 1678 work *The Charters of the Cinque Ports, two Ancient Towns, and their Members* (printed 1728); and by Sir William Dugdale (1605–1686) in his *The History of Imbanking and Drayning* (1662). Dugdale's map and Jeake's description put Old Winchelsea on a low flat island six miles north east of Fairlight cliff, three miles south east by east from New Winchelsea, two miles south south-east from Rye, and seven miles south west from Old Romney. It adjoined a forest known as Dymsdale that extended westwards in a number of sections past Hastings. The forest was swept away along with Old Winchelsea but the petrified trees at Pett Level beach may be the remains of its ancient foundations. These calculations suggest that the remains of Old Winchelsea are immediately to the *east* of the mouth of the River Rother at Rye Harbour, whereas most commentators feel they should be to the *west.* Maybe its location is astride the Rother mouth.

Southampton University's Professor David Sear, who investigated the drowned city of Dunwich, wrote to me [2 December 2013] about Old Winchelsea stating, "It was on a very vulnerable gravel spit and is now likely buried under gravel banks so it's less likely to have so much physical remains available to SIDESCAN and Multibeam.....but then again people said that about Dunwich!" If Old Winchelsea was on an island only *bordered* by a giant shingle spit, the outlook for investigating its remains should be much brighter. Some medieval maps showing Old Winchelsea after the Great Storm portray it as a deserted island stripped of the shingle bank.

The location of Old Winchelsea and the reasons for its prosperity depended very much on the courses of the rivers Brede, Tillingham and Rother. The River Rother in Roman times flowed to Portus Lemanis (Lympne) connected to Canterbury by Stone Street and protected by a fort now known as Stutfall Castle. The Rother then changed course to New Romney and today Lympne is almost two miles from the sea in drained marshland. The Rother was finally deflected to its present course in the aftermath of the Great Storm of 1287 that obliterated Old Winchelsea. The St Thomas's churches at Camber Sands and New Winchelsea are both named after the church drowned at Old Winchelsea that had taken its name from St Thomas á Becket the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury (1162-70). There were two villages named Broomhill on either side of Camber Sands village. The first was near Old Winchelsea in *Sussex*, probably now under Rye Golf Club to the west of Camber [Gardiner 1988]. This was swept away in the 1287 Great Storm. Its inhabitants relocated to the present Broomhill, which was part of *Kent*, and built a church in around 1300. Broomhill Kent was inundated in 1627 and its remains lie on the eastern edge of Camber Sands Village. Broomhill Kent was therefore on the eastern side of the main inlet after the Great Storm that obliterated Broomhill Sussex, which had previously been on either the eastern or western side of a smaller channel breach that flowed north-west to south east. When the breach occurred is not clear as not so much attention has been accorded the Brede and Tillingham rivers. One study [Pacham & Willis:237], which does not mention Winchelsea, suggests that these rivers flowed eastwards between 15 to 24 km (9.5 to 15 miles) behind the great shingle bank. This theory is supported by a medieval report that stated a road connected Old Winchelsea to Broomhill Sussex. However the Rother Estuary was silting up at New Romney. The build-up of water from the Rother, Tillingham and Brede in the inland lagoon would have put pressure on the shingle bank. A major effort was made to clear the silt at New Romney through the construction of the 12 km (7.5 mile) Rhee Canal, known now as the Rhee Wall as it was an above ground channel between 50 to 100 yards wide flowing between two levee banks from Appledore to New Romney in an unsuccessful attempt to funnel the Rother to clear the silt. The shingle bank appears to have experienced constant change. It has often been assumed it was a barrier to the Channel but there may have been occasional breaches since Rye and Old Winchelsea were recorded in the Doomsday book in 1086 as having 100 salt-works around Rye and Old Winchelsea. "Salts" were fields that trapped salt water for the production of salt through evaporation. There may have been a channel through the shingle bank that could be crossed on foot at low tide and deep enough for shallow draught ships like the ubiquitous flat bottomed cogs to pass at high tide as modern ships must do at present day Rye Harbour to clear the sand bar. Since William the Conqueror returned from Normandy to Old Winchelsea, he may have arrived through such a channel through the shingle rather than via Romney. This hypothesis seems to be supported by evidence from Green [1988:170-1], who argues that the Brede and Tillingham entered the lagoon and reached the sea at a gap in the shingle bank near the present mouth of the Rother. That, of course, was the case after the Great Storm when the southern bend of the Rother would have joined the Brede and Tillingham, forcing a much wider breach. The combined rivers would therefore have flowed into the sea at or close to modern Rye Harbour (see maps). Gardiner [1988], who excavated Broomhill (Kent) close to Old Winchelsea, concurs, believing there was a channel through the shingle bank before the Great Storm. If so, it was most probably the channel that through which the Brede and Tillingham flowed and eventually widened into a large estuary when the Great Storm obliterated much of the surrounding coastline.

Local trade had been severely disrupted during the Viking era. In 892 the Danish Viking fleet of about 280 ships and five thousand men destroyed the Saxon castle at Appledore and established a camp for a year along the Rother. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that Danish

Vikings remained in the area into the 10th century so presumably they became part of the local population [(3)]. Eventually the Normans (Vikings who had settled in France) brought temporary stability and a reorientation of trade and politics away from Scandinavia and Germany towards France. This considerably enhanced the port of Old Winchelsea, since it not only lay opposite Normandy but also controlled the Brede and Tillingham estuaries. William the Conqueror returned to England via Old Winchelsea after his 1067 visit to Normandy. The port would also have served as a storage depot and local maritime distribution point as did New Winchelsea in later years. The Norman Conquest and the end of the disruption caused by dynastic struggles and Viking raids brought it valuable cross Channel trade with Normandy before further conflict engulfed the region. Old Winchelsea was a substantial town which in the 1260's reportedly contained 700 houses, two churches and over fifty inns and taverns. This indicated it had a population, transient or otherwise, about the same size as nearby modern Rye (approximately 4500). The town received a massive boost when Aquitaine became part of the Angevin Empire in 1154, being well placed for trade with Bordeaux and serving as England's major embarkation port for the pilgrimage to the shrine of St James at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in north-west Spain. However, not only did the sailors of Old Winchelsea often do as they pleased but they also supported feudal lords in a rebellion against King Henry III during the Second Barons War (1264–1267). The baronial commander, Simon de Montfort, was from a French-based Norman family noted for religious zealotry. His father had helped crush the heretical Albigensians (Cathars) and his mother gave the Jews of Toulouse a choice between conversion and death. On becoming Lord of Leicester (later Earl) he expelled the city's Jews in 1231, in his words "for the good of my soul" and forbade usury (see below). He was then appointed viceroy of Gascony but was removed after complaints of harshness. Eventually he fell out with his brother-in-law, King Henry III, and De Montfort led the barons in demanding a greater role in decision-making than granted by King John through Magna Carta. War broke out and De Montfort defeated the royalists at Lewes, capturing King Henry and his eventual nemesis, Prince Edward. The King retained authority but was subject to parliament and De Montfort's council. De Montfort widened political representation by a qualified property franchise that enabled towns including Old Winchelsea as well as elected knights to participate, which is why he has been praised as an important figure in the development of British democracy. Winchelsea opposed King Henry but surrendered to him in 1264. It rebelled again when Henry and Edward were captured at Lewes. Eventually Prince Edward defeated and killed De Montfort at Evesham in 1265 but his son, also called Simon, fled to Winchelsea to catch a ship to France. He was later joined by his elder brother Guy. In Italy in 1271 the brothers murdered their cousin Henry, who had switched sides to join King Henry before Evesham. Both were excommunicated and Simon died the same year. Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, places Guy de Montfort in the seventh circle of Hell. Winchelsea and the other Cinque ports soon felt Prince Edward's anger. Edward attacked Winchelsea by sea and land and when the town fell, he executed several leaders for rebellion and piracy. He became Constable of Governor of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports. At that time the position was the most powerful of the King's appointments and under his direct command. The Cinque Ports fleet played an important part in the development of the British Navy.

Calm weather conditions prevailed from 1100 to the 1230s but this was followed by sixty years of extremes. Dramatic storms afflicted the North and Sea and Channel in 1236, 1250-2 and 1287-8 [Yates and Triplet:10]. There was an earthquake in St Albans in 1250 and it is probable that Old Winchelsea was also hit or suffered a giant underwater subsidence on 1 October that year. The chronicler, Raphael Holinshed (1529–1580), whose work provided

Shakespeare with much background material, recorded that “a great tempest of wind” twice prevented the tide from ebbing and created such a terrible roaring sound “that was heard (not without great wonder) a far distance from the shore. Moreover, the same sea appeared in the dark of night to burn, as it had been on fire… At Winchelsea, besides other hurt that was done in bridges, mills, breaks, and banks, there were 300 houses and some churches drowned” Matthew Paris, who not only wrote but illustrated, described a storm that caused widespread destruction in 1252 “especially at the port of Winchelsea which is of such use to England and above all to the inhabitants of London”. It appears that the giant shingle bank that protected Old Winchelsea had been breached and soon the sea was surging inland as far as Appledore, eight miles from Old Winchelsea. The situation rapidly deteriorated and by 1280 Old Winchelsea was awash with no hope of survival. In November 1281, King Edward I ordered an evacuation of the population to a new site. Some citizens still declined [Morros:125-6]. On January 1286 Dunwich, an important city in Suffolk, was swept away and in January 1287 the Great Storm devastated south east England [Brayley:194-5]. Part of the Norman castle and cliff at Hastings crashed into the sea, blocking the harbour for ever. Today, the fishing boats of Hastings are winched up on to the shingle beach.

Old Romney was on an island in the Rother while New Romney, a little downstream, had become a port at the Rother mouth. Aforementioned, it is probable that before the storm the Rother at Romney was already silting up and its southern bend was swinging towards the site of modern Rye Harbour. [Harper-Bill:60, Green:171]. Whatever the situation, Great Storm destroyed the Rother estuary and Rhee channel at New Romney. The amount of silt and other debris swept into New Romney by the storm raised the level of the land, so that visitors must now step down to the entrance of the old church. The devastation caused a backing up of the Rhee and Rother to Appledore. The Rother deflected into the Brede and Tillingham estuaries and the breach the huge shingle bank that protected the inland bay mooring known as the Camber, was massively widened by the Channel flood and the trapped River Rother seeking an outlet. Old Winchelsea, already badly damaged by previously storms, went under along with its reclaimed land on the neighbouring Walland Marsh and the town of Broomhill (Sussex) both lying on the site of the present Rye Golf Club, east of the River Rother. In December the same year, another flood killed between 50,000 to 80,000 in the Netherlands. Rye was the main beneficiary of the Great Storm, presented with the River Rother, which joined the Tillingham and Brede, and the French trade that had been controlled by Old Winchelsea. Channel transport was dominated mostly by *cogs*, ships that was flat bottomed amidships and well suited to the shallow tidal waters around Winchelsea and Rye [Inderwick:39].

Some of the inhabitants of Old Winchelsea had been reluctant to relocate to Iham hill, the site of New Winchelsea, where they never could enjoy the anarchic life style of the old town. Now they had no choice. Old Winchelsea’s elite, in particular the Alards, secured large sections of the land allocations in the new town. The town of New Winchelsea was chartered by King Edward I and built on a grid system, modelled on Monségur, a town on the Le Dropt, a tributary of the Garonne, 75 Km (46 miles) south east upriver from Bordeaux. Monségur had been chartered by Eleanor of Aquitaine, King Edward’s mother, in 1265. Bordeaux was essential to the prosperity of New Winchelsea. The River Brede had become a wide estuary. According to the records, between 1306 and 1307 fifteen Winchelsea ships imported about three quarters of a million gallons of wine (3,409,568 litres), about four million bottles, shipped out of Bordeaux. The wine exported to New Winchelsea was considered somewhat inferior by the French. It came from areas near and to the south east of Bordeaux and even in territory around Toulouse, which was under French rule but connected

to Bordeaux through the River Garonne [www.winchelseacellars.com]. The wine casks were placed in the enormous crypt-like storage cellars made from stone probably from Caen in Normandy [www.winchelseacellars.com]. These have recently been excavated. Looking at the tiny River Brede these days, shut off from the Channel tide by the Brede Sluice (Lock), it is difficult to imagine that an average of 140 foreign ships alone docked at eighty-two wharves at New Winchelsea annually.

Nevertheless, New Winchelsea was a failure. It was a fine example of Middle Ages town planning but built to accommodate a large population that never materialised [Pounds:28-29, Davis 2013:443]. The town was declining before French and Castilian attacks in 1326, 1360 and 1380 destroyed many buildings. It is not clear if (a) the French demolished most of the church, (b) the church was never completed because of the French attack or (c) because the population never reached expectations (the church foundations extend to the edge of the cemetery). Winchelsea's deteriorating economic and strategic importance was also weakened by the rise of deep sea Atlantic cod fishing, the Black Death (1348-49, 1361-62), shifting trade patterns, rivalry from Chichester as a major port, silting and the development of much larger ships that needed deeper ports. The population fell from around six thousand to a few hundred. Only a small section of the original town was ever occupied. Nevertheless, today it has a mayor and is therefore one of the smallest towns in the Britain. Its population in 2011 was 2,170.

**THE JEWS OF THE ROMNEY MARSH**

The most prominent Jewish financier on the Romney Marsh was Jacob the Jew, who established himself on three leasehold plots of land in Canterbury in about 1190 for a small annual rent. He built a substantial stone building with a basement. He died in about 1216 and his sons Aaron and Samuel sold the building to the Cathedral, which then leased it to another Jew named Cressel. At the time of the 1290 expulsion the property was in the hands of two Jews, Aaron son of Vives (Latin for Chaim), and Cok (Norman French for Isaac) Hagin (Norman French for Chaim). When regulations came in to restrict Jews to certain areas, the Jews of Canterbury defied the authorities by expanding their activities into rural areas and were lending money throughout the Romney Marsh with repayments usually in cereals not cash [Mundill 2003:85].

It is not known if the Canterbury Jews had dealings with Rye and Old Winchelsea but there is a mystery about the latter. Old Winchelsea was strategically and commercially of great importance. Given its links with Normandy and beyond, it would have been most unusual if it had not borrowed money from Jews even if they had not been resident there. Winchelsea and Southampton were not archa towns so records of Jewish commercial transactions are lacking. The feudal lords of Winchelsea, the Alards, seem to have been Flemish supporters of the Norman Conquest. Old Winchelsea was too important to leave in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, whom King Harold had installed to combat possible Norman attacks, so Inderwick was probably in error stating Gervase Alard was of "old Saxon stock" [Inderwick:119]. The Alards would have had their town fortified for defensive purposes and civic pride and therefore needed credit from Jewish usurers. Usurers need not have been local. Aaron and Abraham de la Rye, from neighbouring Rye, were money lenders. They lent money locally, maybe to Jews, although names are difficult to analyse. For example, Rye possessed Jews named John and Robert Sampson. De la Rye's debtors included William de Ore (Ore is now a suburb of Hastings) and Walter de Tillingham, who were probably Jews from their choice of Norman "surnames" like Aaron de la Rye. Aaron moved to London and loaned money there and in Oxford (1273) [Brown] where students needed rented

accommodation and loans for books. He was probably executed in 1278 as a coin clipper. The Alards had already been fined for presenting a forged document stating they had been granted jurisdiction over Old Winchelsea in place of the Abbey of Fécamp [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp37-73: 5 June 1197 Pope Celestine III to the abbot of Thame and the priors of St. Fritheswidis and of Osenai in the diocese of Lincoln]. After the loss of Old Winchelsea, they claimed the lion share of land allocations in New Winchelsea. It is of interest that their close associate, Henry Jacob, also received three plots. Jacob is a common Jewish name but Kenneth Jacob, a researcher on the Jacob family, mentions a family tradition that Henry was of Italian descent, most probably connected to bankers, who were steadily replacing Jews as money lenders. However, Henry Jacob's fascinating nautical activities do not reflect those of an Italian financier. He may have been a local Christian with an Old Testament name or a Jew that didn't fit the medieval stereotype. Moreover, *Henry* is not an Italian name. The Italian equivalent of Henry is *Enrico.* Henry Jacob worked with the Alards, traded with Gascony, Portsmouth and Yarmouth. The Alard brothers, Stephen, Henry and John, alternated between piracy and official respectability. They were often based around the Morlaix inlets in Brittany, from where they ignored warrants of royal protection by raiding passing ships carrying wine and homeward bound English pilgrims. They marooned captains and threw crew members overboard [Eddison 2013; Laurence:108]. Henry Alard may have been the father of the Henry Jacob granted plots in New Winchelsea in 9th, 27th and 30th quarters, one next to the building used by the 'for the time being' mayor of Winchelsea. Henry Jacob also had a precarious plot of land next the salt marshes notorious for rapid tidal surges and great differences in the level of tides (History of Winchelsea, page 53). One plot allocation was in the name of Isabella, the daughter of Morekyn Jacob. Kenneth Jacob, who is continuing to research, at first speculated that Morekyn was "very Italian sounding" and wrote the same for Askesayn Jacob, a tenant in 1279 in the Romney Marsh but is reconsidering since it was the practice of English Jews to take the French equivalents of their Hebrew names. *Henry* is Norman French for *Aharon. Morekyn* is Norman French for *Samuel*. *Askesayn* is Norman French for *Little Prince* (literally: *little nobly born*). *Isabella* is a Hebrew name that means *Devoted to God*, but it was widely used by Christians throughout Europe. The ports of England attracted many nationalities. For example, Clobbers, a resident of Winchelsea, would have been *Kloppers* from the Low Countries. In 1400 Dutch merchants exported beer to Winchelsea [Hornsey:315]

The reason why it is of interest to examine the names of New Winchelsea residents granted plots after the loss of Old Winchelsea is that the new town may have had a population of Jews up to the official expulsion of 1290. The Alards had a history of cavalier attitude to central authority but they would have been accountable for allowing Jewish activity in New Winchelsea after the expulsion. The Jews who were expelled from Old Winchelsea in 1274 had not previously been resident there. However, they could have been optimistic about the future and did not anticipate the 1290 expulsion. Consequently they may have been involved in the establishment of New Winchelsea and the building of the substantial building known as the Jews' Hall, of which the entrance still survives (photo below). Frederick Inderwick QC (1836-1904), member of parliament for Rye (1880-85) and mayor of New Winchelsea (1892-93 and 1902-03) noted that the walls of what he called the Jews' Market Hall in New Winchelsea still stood, which he considered strange since the Hall was in use after 1290. The site was eventually levelled in 1954 to make way for council houses. The Jews' Hall was also known as the Trojans' Hall or Truncheons' Hall. The word *Trojan* in medieval times was used to describe a thief [Inderwick:53, quoting Shakespeare's play *Henry IV, Act ii, Scene i*] or warn of subversion from within, a meaning that has continued into modern computing to

describe a computer virus designed to steal information or cripple a system. The expression "to work like a Trojan" only dates from 1846. Local Winchelsea sources suggest that Trojan comes from *True Jew* but that is only a recent term.

The prosperity of Old and New Winchelsea depended heavily on trade with Bordeaux, the main city of Aquitaine, which became part of the English-ruled Angevin Empire in 1154 when Eleanor of Aquitaine, the former Queen of France, married King Henry II and brought her Duchy of Aquitaine into the Angevin Empire. New Winchelsea was the main port for importation of wine casks from Bordeaux [Williams:270] and it is extremely likely that much of the initial trade before the 1290 expulsion was conducted through local Jews with connections in Bordeaux. The Jews in Bordeaux were at first openly Jews but they acquired a peculiar status. They allegedly settled in Bordeaux after the Bar Kokhba revolt and prospered under Anglo-Norman rule because Bordeaux was spared the 1082 expulsion that occurred in French controlled territory and the French king's 1182 order to cancel all Christian debts to Jews. In 1394 King Charles VI of France expelled all Jews from France but the Bordeaux Jews were still under English rule. When the English lost Bordeaux and the rest of Aquitaine in 1453 at the end of the Hundred Years' War, the French allowed the Jews to stay but refused to recognise them as Jews (1462) to retain their usefulness. This stratagem enabled Bordeaux Jews to visit England after 1453. However, it is likely that the Jews Hall in New Winchelsea was built by English Jews just before the 1290 expulsion as a depot and market, Because of trade and emigration restrictions, these Jews must have been linked to Jury's Gap.

**JURY'S GAP**

Jury's Gap is a village right on the border of East Sussex with Kent. It lies on the Walland section of the Romney Marsh next to the sea wall guarding it against the English Channel. It is the eastern-most part of the beach accessible to the public that stretches westwards through Camber Sands to the River Rother estuary opposite Rye Harbour. The closed area of Lydd Army Camp lies to the east of Jury's Gap where the road bends away from the sea wall. Jury's Gap is one metre below the spring high tide level [*BBC News Online.* Saturday, 5 September 2009]. At present there is some threat of Channel inundation, particularly if shingle ceases to be transported back from its eastern drift towards Dungeness. [*New Civil Engineer* 7 June 2007]. However, in August 2014 work started on the £30 million Broomhill Sands coastal defence scheme [UK Government Environment Agency Policy paper updated 29 August 2014]

The name *Jury's Gap* may have originally been derived from Medieval Latin "Terrae Perjuratae" meaning "Forsworn Lands" (a place where nobody has a claim) or from *Jews' Gut*, probably from an older word meaning "way" as in the Viking word "gate" still used in York to mean a street. Before the Great Storm of 1287, Jury's Gap was reputedly where Jews used to trade. The port of Fécamp in Normandy had been the residence of the dukes of Normandy from 932-1204 and the Abbey of Fécamp controlled the ports of Rye and Winchelsea up until 1247 (Rye Foreign, outside Rye, is the area that remained under Fécamp when Henry III revoked previous arrangements). Fécamp took half the toll duty for bales and pontage (tax for repair of bridges) at Winchelsea and charged 4d for Jewish passengers touching port at Fordwich (connected to Sandwich Cinque Port), and maybe Rye and Winchelsea, as opposed to 2d for Christians [Miller:44]. Jews therefore evaded these costs by using Jury's Gap. Henry III ordered the wardens of the Cinque Ports to prevent Jews (the King's personal property) leaving the country without permission [Jewish Encyclopaedia: England] so probably Jury's Gap was one of their main escape routes. It lay on the Walland Marsh, which was being reclaimed from the sea by Old Winchelsea. After the Great Storm, it

was reduced to a tidal offshore sandbank. Constant coastal change has now made it again part of the drained mainland Walland Marsh. In 1394 it was recorded as *Jurdisgote*, in 1572 as *Juresgutte,* in 1598 as *Iewes Gutte*, and in the 1700's as *Jews' Gut* [Harris:119]. Sometimes places that had no connection with Jews possess names erroneously pointing to a past association [Harris, numerous examples]. Conversely, places that did have Jews sometimes changed their name from *Jewry* to *Jury* [Harris:119]. Whatever the origin of Jury's Gap, it is tragically linked to Jews and Winchelsea.

**JEWISH INSECURITY**

The story of the Jews of Rye and Winchelsea and England as whole in their first major settlement (ca. 1066-1290) is that of a small community of useful but disposable, despised, doomed (by holy writ) semi-serfs trying to survive in a remote newly conquered island outpost where administrative, fiscal and power structures were still developing and where the feudal military landlords were establishing themselves and ultimately blending with a defeated alien population before expanding into Celtic territory in Wales, Ireland and Scotland. The Normans brought with them not only the complexities and rivalries of their Norman background but also a Christian world view emanating from Rome that required massive funding for crusades against Muslim forces in the Holy Land. The Norman Church hierarchy came from the same feudal class and had its own considerable financial requirements, political agenda as well as insistence on religious conformity. Although canon (church) law had specific regulations concerning treatment of the Jews, Norman barons usually had either no knowledge or minimal understanding of them. In addition, the Jews were under the protection of the king yet his authority was increasingly challenged by the barons. Worse, kings and popes could suddenly reverse their policies towards the Jews, either for financial or theological reasons, or both. The Jews wanted security, freedom to practise their religion, and tolerance towards their business activities and disagreements with Christian and at first Norman England was far more attractive than other locations and they were never a threat to the dominant culture because of their refusal to encourage conversion, intermarry and challenge the existing order.

English Jews of the Middle Ages were evidently industrious and were, until the arrival of the Lombards, the only group allowed to practice usury, that is, money lending with *excessive* interest repayments [Keene:30-1]. Many Jews became usurers because of the instability of the Anarchy (1135-1154) when Normandy and England were beset by rival claimants to the throne – the dowager Holy Roman Empress Matilda and her cousin Stephen [Roth 1941:10] The fighting wrecked trade so Jews turned more to usury. Their wealth was highly visible and deeply resented by the general English population as they were distinctly alien in appearance (they also had to wear badges and special clothes), religion and custom but doing very well. The medieval mind was not a pleasant encounter and certainly still survives in many parts of the modern world where long time neighbours massacre each other after hearing a rumour or for some ancient theological disagreement or bitter class resentment. In England, Christians and Jews were mutually hostile to intermarriage. In fact, Jews were classified as animals when it came to sexual relations. A Christian in Oxford who converted to Judaism and married a Jewess was burned to death along with his wife for having 'sex with an animal', as was a couple called named Alard in Paris, who had produced six children [Marshall:376; Kellogg:212; Summer:106] [(4)]. Roth [1941:11] states that Jurnet (Eliab) of Norwich (ca.1130–1197) was heavily fined for marrying a Christian heiress who converted to Judaism and forfeited her lands but this has not been accepted by all authorities [Jewish Virtual Library].

Jews in particular were accused of sacrilege and sadistic ritual murders of abducted Christian children [Roth 1941:10]. It was common for Jews to be blamed for the disappearance or death of a Christian child, although no credible evidence has emerged despite a notorious diatribe *Jewish Ritual Murder* [*The Fascist* July 1936] by the British fascist Arnold Leese (1878-1956). Anger at Jewish prosperity and their refusal to accept Christianity led to massacres in 1189-90. Jews travelling to King Richard's coronation were accused of giving him the evil eye. Thirty Jews were murdered in London. King Richard intervened, executing the ringleader, but Jews were killed in other cities and towns. The pogrom continued into 1190 and was supported by leaders such as the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds who were in debt to Jews. The worst atrocities came at York where about 150 Jews died on 16 March 1190, some by their own hand while vainly holding out in York Castle [Rees Jones:22 onwards]. King Richard demanded justice but most of the leading perpetrators had fled before his arrival. The situation took a turn for the worst during the Barons' War of 1258-66. The century had already been marked by an escalation of accusations of Jews conducting ritual murders. Many had been arrested and executed on false evidence and others murdered by superstitious mobs. Occasionally a fair-minded Christian leader would demand a proper investigation and unbiased assessment of the evidence(5) but the usual procedure was to accuse innocent people of crimes and then torture them until they confessed, a pattern that has continued down through history to the present day. The Jewish community in general was terrified of committing any action that could incite mob violence.

**MEDIEVAL JEWISH CULTURAL RESURGENCE**

Jews had not always been passive victims of aggression. As captives in Babylon, they had conspired with the Persians to overthrow and replace the Babylonian empire and had sometimes counterattacked the Christians such as in the case of Yusuf, the 6th century AD Jewish ruler of Himyar in Yemen,[6] and Yodit, the 10th century AD Hebrew Queen of Damot in Ethiopia, who between them nearly obliterated Christianity in both areas [Leeman:2005]. However, the Jews of Europe differed. They were demographically insignificant and, as a consequence of Ezra's dubious Old Testament passages [Thompson 1999: Leeman 2015], had no wish to intermarry with or convert their Christian neighbours let alone seize political power. Nevertheless, although they had no belief in an afterlife, they wanted a secure future. After their 2nd century AD expulsion from the Holy Land, they kept remarkable cohesion through adherence to the Torah, the Law of Moses. This enabled them to practise Judaism in remote isolated locations such as Belmonte in Portugal, where secret Jews discovered in 1917 believed they were only Jews left in the world. Between about 500 AD and 950 AD two priestly families known as the Masoretic scholars worked in Galilee and Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) to produce a standardised Hebrew version of the Old Testament [Leeman 2005:46-53 ]. The standardisation of the Hebrew Old Testament and other developments signified that the Jews in Europe intended to maintain their identity, encourage unity and excel in the fields permitted them, without attempting to challenge the authority of the state and Christian Church. Despite this, it was inevitable that the "blood libel" in St Matthew and their association with usury would never bring security.

One country defied the trend. Boleslaus/Boleslaw the Pious, Duke of Greater Poland, issued the Statute of Kalisz on 8 September, 1264. This was also known as the General Charter of Jewish Liberties and gave protection to the Jews until 1772-1795 when Poland was divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia. Poland, along with its union with Lithuania, was renowned as the Paradise for Jews, where they enjoyed considerable autonomy and became the largest settlement of Jews anywhere at that time [O'Leary:54; Pogonowski:39-86].

Ironically, it was 20th century Polish persecution that drove thousands of Polish Jews to form the nuclear population of modern Israel [Blobaum: 2005; Zimmermann:19-31].

The 1290 expulsion of Jews from England stemmed from religious and economic considerations besides a demand for conformity. The Norman monarchy could have implemented a tax system similar to the highly efficient one that sustained the Byzantine Empire (despite the problem of Roman numerals) until 1453 [Luttawak:2009] but instead retained its Viking plunder mentality. In fairness, even the German Empire in the First World War had a similar policy [Fischer:5-6]. Some Church leaders had tried to deal justly with the Jews, whose status was never more than that of royal serfs, but others were uncompromising zealots. The Jews were never fully trusted and were suspected of being more sympathetic to Islam than Christianity although in the North Africa [Abadi 2012] and the Balkans [Minkov 2004] Christian peasants had welcomed Islam as a relief from crippling feudal taxation. Minkov, however, provides examples of other much less beneficial aspects such as the forced recruitment in the Balkans of Christian children as elite Muslim Janissary troops. Christians sometimes used forged documents showing Jews were in league with Muslim powers to inflame hatred against the Jews and escape repayment of loans. Christian fervour and feudal land grabbing had launched the Crusades and, when heavy taxation cost the Jews financial leverage with the king, he could take more notice of the ranting of malevolent church leaders wanting to see an end to the "blood-sucking" Christ killers. The spark of expulsion came on 7 April 1287 in Bordeaux where King Edward I was at a function in a room at the top of a tower. The floor caved in and the king and his attendants plunged eighty feet. Three knights died and the king took five weeks to recover from his injuries. Perhaps in gratitude to what he perceived as divine intervention for saving his life, he decided to resume his crusading career instead of instituting better building standards. He set about collecting funds by expelling all the Jews from Gascony and seizing their property [Malvezin:1875; Mundill:154-155].

**THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS 1290**

Edward had hoped to convert the English Jews to Christianity but was upstaged by the fanatical new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham, consecrated on 19 February 1279, who put further emphasis on force than reason. In 1286, Pope Honorius IV launched a hard line policy against the English Jews, in particular the study of the Talmud, which was of great value in advising how to deal with the indignities of life under Christian rule. Today, as a result of Christian destruction, only a single copy of the Talmud survives from the Middle Ages [Perani & Sagradini:8]. Failure to convert Jews to Christianity led to exasperation and murderous attitudes [Prestwich:1997].

All English Jews were arrested on 2 May 1287 through Pecham's influence and were ordered to raise twelve thousand pounds immediately [Roth 1941:58]. The Jews could only find four thousand, ruining many and leading to further imprisonment. The order expelling the Jews was issued on 18 July 1290 and by November the whole community had left (many of them elderly and recently widowed), after two and a quarter centuries. The king had ordered that the Jews should be allowed to leave unmolested and in possession of personal belongings. This was ignored on several occasions. A contemporary manuscript depicts Jews being threatened with a club and they were probably beaten. A ship's captain, Henry Adrian, offloaded Jews on to a sandbank in the Thames Estuary and told them to part the water and walk to safety like Moses. They drowned and Adrian absconded with their possessions. One account reports that Adrian was hanged, another that he was sentenced to two years imprisonment. It is probable the same thing happened with a ship intercepted by the

authorities off Burnham in Norfolk. The crew had abandoned ship leaving only a Jewish boy on board [Mundill:255].

At that time the village of Broomhill in Kent had just been established on the eastern edge of the present village of Camber Sands, where Broomhill Road leads to the water treatment building and where the East Kent bus in the 1950's used to park for the night. A pile of stones indicates the ruins of the old church and an excavation was conducted in 1985 [Gardiner 1988]. The Sussex/Kent country boundary line passed between Broomhill Sussex and Broomhill Kent, which may indicate that the two sites were separated by the Tillingham/Brede. The Great Storm destroyed Broomhill Sussex so a new harbour was constructed at Broomhill Kent and used for minor traffic [Brooks 1981:94; 2000:283]. When the Jews were expelled in 1290, a party took ship at Broomhill Kent. Perhaps one day records will be found about where they were from and what their names were. They may have been locals but there is a chance that they were from further away and had chosen to embark from Broomhill on the chance their exit would not be widely known. A very high proportion of the Jews expelled in 1290 were the widows, elderly parents and children of those executed for coin clipping. Soon after setting out from Broomhill they were boarded and robbed by men from New Winchelsea and maybe Rye. The Great Storm had reduced Jury's Gap to a sandbank three miles offshore from Broomhill and the sailors forced the Jews to disembark there at low tide, leaving them to drown as the tide returned. Surviving English Jews sought sanctuary with Jews in France and beyond and that would seem to have been the tragic end of the Jews of the Romney Marsh [Rye Library Archives; Legg n.d.].

There is, of course, speculation. In other countries, especially Spain and Portugal where they had been substantial Jewish populations, many Jews escaped expulsion by hiding their identity or agreeing to convert to Christianity. Not unnaturally, many were insincere and were termed Marranos, meaning *pigs* [Roth 1959]. Nominal conversion was commonplace, although the Spanish were ruthless in establishing if the converts were genuine. In 1300 there were about half a million Jews in Spain and as persecution, forced conversion (about 250,000) and massacres escalated up till the final expulsion in 1492 (1497 from Portugal), a lasting clandestine culture emerged whereby the Jews hid their identity by resorting, like the Xuetes in Majorca [Pujol:1993], to the creation of their own churches, where they could maintain their identity while professing to be Christians; or in Mashad in Iran where nominal Muslims have followed Jewish rituals since the 19th century forced conversions [Nisimi: Sections 5-8]. Nominally converted Jews were generally accepted by "real" Jews in Italy, the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire but elsewhere they were usually ostracised, thus furthering their isolation. Spanish persecution forced nominally converted Jews to flee to Bordeaux between 1496 and 1525 where they maintained the fiction they were really Christians, unlike those who went to the Netherlands and immediately reverted to Judaism. Studies of Crypto Judaism [Hirschman:90], Friday Night Candle Judaism and other records of clandestine Jews are now becoming better known but there is little chance that New Winchelsea turned a blind eye to continued Jewish residence. The Grey Friars, who had a presence in Winchelsea, often established themselves next to Jewish neighbourhoods in order to convert them and sometimes had good relations with them, having defended the Lincoln Jews following the 27 August 1225 incident of "ritual murder" of Little St Hugh.[7] However, New Winchelsea was not isolated like Belmonte in Portugal where the local Christians all knew about the secret relatively substantial Jewish community but, apart from the occasional sly remark, didn't care [Garcia:2006].

Jewish conversion to Christianity in England, sincere or not, was rare. In 1232 King Henry III established the Domus Conversorum (the House of the Converted) in London's Chancery Lane for Jewish converts, who had forfeited all their property on conversion. They were give food, accommodation, Christian instruction and a small allowance. Funding was always inadequate and up until 1290 only about a hundred Jews had converted including Rabbi Belager of Oxford in 1281. In 1290 there were eighty converts left. Fifteen years later there were fifty one. In 1353 there was only one, Claricia of Exeter, who had arrived before the expulsion. [Fogle:2007]

After the expulsion, there were complaints [Jacobs and Wolf] that Jews had returned masquerading as Lombards (Jews and Lombards had been expelled from France in 1305-6) and there were some instances where prominent Jewish doctors and lawyers were either given permission to visit England or consulted. There is also a tradition that Jews secretly re-established themselves in England until their discovery in 1358 (when King Edward III reaffirmed the order of 1290) and one estimate lists twenty seven Jewish families resident in England before 1655 [Felsenstein:45], probably refugees from Spain, many others of whom had been expelled by King James I in 1609 as fake Christians [Roth 1941:106]. Despite that, there do not seem to have been any Norman Jewish families that remained in England after 1290 and kept their faith secret. Roth [1959:8], however, mentions an ancient Jewish tradition that claims Jewish children were forcibly taken from their families and given to Christian families in northern England. Nevertheless, the children continued to practise Jewish customs and passed them on to their own descendants.

In conclusion, the sequence of events in Winchelsea would probably have been as follows: Some Jews lived in Old Winchelsea but were expelled in 1274 as they were recent arrivals [Skinner:57]. King Edward ordered the evacuation of Old Winchelsea to New Winchelsea in 1281. Jews may therefore have built the Jews' Hall in the new town, never anticipating that the king would decide to expel the entire English Jewish community in 1290, and New Winchelsea would not fulfil expectations. One elderly man did apparently remain and vainly stood his ground in New Winchelsea Market arguing against the 1275 Statute. He was known as Old Moses the Jew. He was hounded out of the market, dragged before the provost (royal magistrate), tortured and fined [Inderwick:5]. It is therefore unlikely any other Jews remained. In its early days New Winchelsea possessed six goldsmiths and two jewellers [Inderwick:72], trades commonly associated with Jews, but these would have been Christians.

Despite the expulsion, one aspect requires investigation. In Guildford in 1995, an 11$^{th}$ century synagogue was discovered below street level. Its small size and location indicate its existence and purpose were kept secret. It would be unusual if the Jews' Hall in New Winchelsea did not possess a small underground synagogue. Wherever Jews live, it is customary to observe weekly rituals and, if a synagogue is not available, to create one. "A pious Jew" can turn "the meanest building into a house of assembly, a house of learning, and a house of prayer" [Krinsky:104]. It is highly probable that there was a secret synagogue or prayer room in New Winchelsea. A prime candidate would be in Quarter 19 beneath the site of the Jews Hall. It is a stone rectangular structure unlike the usual subterranean storage areas. Archaeologists believe it was a cellar with an unknown purpose [Martin and Rudling 2004:102].

**NOTES**

**1** My maternal grandfather was Francis Rook (1876-1950), a Cockney Irish gas engineer who came to Rye as manager of the gas works and married Ellen, the daughter of Edwin Mann of Cranbrook, one of the gas board directors. My grandmother's sister married Bill West, who ran the engineering works at the gravel pit on the Camber road. The gas works was our family business until nationalisation after the Second World War. My father (1895-1949) was from Ulster but made his life in Tanganyika. From 1951 till 1958 I lived in Off Sea Road (now First Avenue) at Camber Sands and from 1958 next to the River Brede, at 8 New Winchelsea Road, Rye, close to the lock gates.

**2** Until the 1970's it was generally assumed, despite some 19th century reservations, that the events of the Old Testament from the Exodus to the Babylonian captivity had occurred in what is now modern Israel and Palestine. Today, Biblical archaeology has been so discredited that it is no longer offered as a subject at major universities, where Near Eastern Studies has taken its place. The probable location of the Hebrew and the Israelite kingdoms was West Arabia between Taima and Yemen.

**3** Curiously, the Rye dialect of my childhood used "I are" instead of "I am" and its pronunciation is almost identical to modern Norwegian for "I am" (*Jeg er*) but not modern Danish (*Jeg er* but different pronunciation to Norwegian) and nothing like Old English ("*Ic eom*" or "*Ic bēō*").

**4** There is a prolific cottage industry looking for "lost" Jews worldwide and I include two recent sensationalist books [Hirschman] below. It is clear that sexual relations occurred between Jews and gentiles despite the prohibitions. This is supported by evidence from long established Jewish populations in China, Yemen, Kerala, and southern Africa (the Lemba have the highest percentage of the Jewish Kohanim marker priestly gene) where they are indistinguishable from their gentile neighbours.

**5** Page, William (ed) [1907] Adam Marsh c. 1200 – 1259), a Franciscan, defended Jews from a mob. Thomas Wykes, Augustinian Canon of Onsey Abbey, Oxfordshire, criticised Henry III for the 1263 massacre of Jews.

**6** The respected "minimalist" Biblical archaeologist Professor Thomas L. Thompson is now arguing that Judaism is an invented religion created with a fake history around 450 BC. My book in progress *The Beta Israel (Falasha) of Ethiopia and Judaism Denial* argues that although the circle associated with Ezra the priest-scribe indubitably wrote most laws in the *Book of Deuteronomy*, the Ethiopians possess the original Law of Moses so it is easy to ascertain which parts Ezra's group added and this therefore confirms that Judaism is a genuine and very ancient religion.

7 The body of nine-year-old Hugh was found at the bottom of a well in Lincoln and a friar accused local Jews of ritual murder to use his blood to matzos for Passover. Ninety Jews were convicted, tortured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Eighteen others hanged themselves rather than risk Christian "justice". However many other friars challenged the king as Jews are forbidden to eat blood and Passover was in March/April not August. Eventually the prisoners were released in exchange for a huge ransom. [Mundill 2010]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Abadi, Jacob [2012] *Tunisia since the Arab Conquest: The Saga of a Westernized Muslim State*. Reading: Ithaca Press

Adler, Rev. Michael [1931] "The Medieval Jews of Exeter" *(Read at Exeter, 24th June, 1931) [Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. 1931.-Vol. lxiii, pp.221-240]*

Allen, Martin [2012] *Mints and Money in Medieval England.* Cambridge University Press

Armstrong Economics http://armstrongeconomics.com/financial-crisis-of-13th-century/

Ben Miller [2014] "Iron industry revered by Romans discovered during link road dig in East Sussex" *Culture 24 website* 3 February 2014

Betty, J.H. [1986] *Wessex from AD 1000.* Harlow, Essex: Longman

Blobaum, Robert (ed) [2005] *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press

Bondevik, Stein; Dawson, Sue; Dawson, Alastair; Lohne, Øystein [2003] "Record-breaking Height for 8000-Year-Old Tsunami in the North Atlantic". *EOS, Transactions of the American Geophysical Union* 84 (31): 289, 293 (5 August 2003).

Bonfil, Robert: Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa, Rina Talgam (eds) [2012] *Jews in Byzantium dialectics of minority and majority culture*. Koninklijke Brill NV Leiden

Brayley, Edward Wedlake & John Britton [1850] *A topographical history of Surrey Vol.5.* London: Willis 1850

Brooks, Nicholas [1981] "Romney Marsh in the Early Middle Ages" in *Rowley, R.T. (ed) The Evolution of Marshland Landscapes* Oxford University department for External Studies

pp. 74-94

Brooks, Nicholas [2000] *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400-1066* Rio Grande Ohio: Hambledon Press

Brown, James [1989] *Gamlingay: Six hundred years of life in an English village.* Cassell

Calendar of State Papers France (1899) Abbey of the Holy Trinity, Fécamp, for Benedictine monks, in the diocese of Rouen. *Charters in Archives of the Seine Inférieure. Cartulary in Public Library of Rouen*, Y. 51. Seine Inférieure: Part 2, Pages 37-73. Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206. Originally published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1899.

Cameron, Averil & Peter Garnsey (eds) [1998] *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume XIII: The Late Empire 337-425 AD.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cleere, H. & D. Crossley [1995] *Iron industry of the Weald.* 2nd edition, Cardiff: Merton Priory Press

Charlton, R. [2008] *Fundamentals of fluvial geomorphology*. London*:* Routledge

Cobbett, William ; John Wright, Thomas Curson Hansard *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*: T.C. Hansard, 1811

Cohen, Joseph ben Joshua [1858] *Ernek Habacha.* translated by Dr M. Weiner Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica

Collingwood, Robin George & John N. Myres [1937] *Roman Britain and the English Settlements.* Oxford University Press

Cooper, Alan [2009] *The Geography of Genocide.* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America

Cooper, William Durrant [1850] *The History of Winchelsea: One of the Ancient Towns Added to the Cinque Ports.* London: J.R. Smith

Cuffel, Alexandra [1999] "Call and Response: European Jewish Emigration to Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Ages." *The Jewish Quarterly Review New Series, Vol. 90, No. 1/2 (Jul. - Oct., 1999), pp. 61-101:* University of Pennsylvania Press

Davies, Philip. R. [1992] *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*. London and New York: T. & T. Clark Publishers

Davis, Myer David [1888] *Hebrew Deeds of English Jews Before 1290*. (London: Publication of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibit, No. 2, Office of the "Jewish Chronicle", 1888).

DeVries, Kelly [1999]. *The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Dobson, Richard Barrie [2010] *The Jewish Communities of Medieval England: The Collected Essays of R.B. Dobson*. York: Borthwick Publications, University of York

Duby, Georges [1990] *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages.* Trans. Catherine Tihanyi. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Dugdale, Sir William [1662] *History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fens and Marshes.* Oxford (?)

Dunescape.co.uk http://dunescape.co.uk/things-to-do/take-a-winchelsea-subterranean-mystery-tour/

Eddison, Jill, A. P .Carr, I. P. Jolliffe [1983] "Endangered Coastlines of Geomorphological. Importance." *Geographic Journal,* Vol 149, No 1 March 1983 pp. 39-75

Eddison, Jill [1998] "Catastrophic Changes: A Multidisciplinary Study of the Evolution of Barrier Beaches of Rye Bay." *Romney Marsh: Environmental Change and Human Occupation in a Coastal Lowland* ed. J. Eddison, M. Gardiner and A. Long), OUCA Monograph 46, 1998, 65-87

Eddison, Jill [2013] *Medieval Pirates: Pirates, Raiders and Privateers 1204-1453.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press

Elukin, Jonathan [2007] *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Epstein, Steven A. [2009] *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000–1500.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Felsenstein, Frank [1995] *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture. 1660-1830* Baltimore: John Hopkins University

Fischer, Wolfgang Chr. (ed) [2010] *German Hyperinflation 1922/23: A law and economics approach.* Lohmar, Germany: Josef EUL Verlag

Fogle, Lauren [2007] "The Domus Conversorum: the personal interest of Henry III." *Jewish Historical Studies* Volume 41, 2007

| | |
|---|---|
| Fulbrook, Mary [2015] | *A History of Germany 1918-2014: The Divided Nation.* Chichester: Wiley Blackwell |
| Garcia, Antonieta [1993] | *Os Judeus de Belmonte - Os caminhos da Memoria*. Instituto de Sociologia e Etnologia das Religiões, Universidade Nova de Lisboa |
| Gardiner, Mark [1988] | "Medieval settlement and society in the Broomhill area and excavations at Broomhill church" *Romney Marsh: Evolution_Occupation and Reclamation.* ed. J. Eddison; C. Green. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 112-127. |
| Geisst, Charles R. [2013] | "Beggar Thy Neighbor: A History of Usury and Debt" *Financial History* \| Spring 2013,\| www.MoAF.org, reprinted from Charles R. Geisst, *Beggar Thy Neighbor: A History of Usury and Debt.* University of Pennsylvania Press 2013 |
| Gill, Moshe [1974] | "The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan." *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient 1*7 (1974): 209-28 |
| Gitlitz, David Martin [2002] | *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press |
| Golb, Norman [1998] | *The Jews in Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History.* Cambridge University Press |
| Green, Christopher [1988] | "Paleogeography of marine inlets in the Romney Marsh" In: Eddison, J., Green, C. (Eds.), *Romney Marsh: Coastal and Landscape Change Through the Ages*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Oxford, pp. 167–174. No. 24. |
| Gross, C. [1906] | *The unedited full-text of the 1906 Jewish Encyclopedia*. C. Gross, in Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition |
| Gupta, Sanjeev; Jenny S. Collier, Andy Palmer-Felgate, Graeme Potter [2007] | "Catastrophic flooding origin of shelf valley systems in the English Channel." *Nature* 448, 342-345 (19 July 2007) |
| Hallam, Elizabeth [1990] | *The Plantagenet Encylopedia*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson |
| Harper-Bill, Christopher & Ruth Harvey [1990] | "Medieval Knighthood IV." *Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference* Twickenham: St Mary's University |
| Harrington, Sue & Stuart Brookes, [2010], | *The Kingdom and People of Kent, AD 40-1066: Their History and Archaeology.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press |
| Brink, S with N. Price [2008] | *The Viking World*. London and New York: Routledge |
| Hager, Jamie LeAnne [2010] | *Pirates vs. Privateers: A Comparative Study of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Henry Morgan*" Boone, NC: Appalachian State University, |
| Harris, Oliver D.[2008] | "Jews, Jurats and the Jewry Wall: A Name in Context." *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 82 113 - 133. |
| Helmholz, Richard H. [1986] | "Usury and the Medieval English Church Courts" *61 Speculum* 364 |
| Hillaby, Joe & Caroline Hillaby [2013] | *The Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History.* London: Palgrave Macmillan |
| Hirschman, Elizabeth Caldwell & Donald N. Yates [2014] | *The Early Jews and Muslims of England and Wales: A Genetic and Genealogical History.* McFarland & Company: Jefferson NC |
| Hornsey, Ian Spencer [2003] | *A History of Beer and Brewing.* Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry |
| Hirschman, Elizabeth Caldwell & Donald Neal Yates [2007] | *When Scotland was Jewish: DNA Evidence, Archeology, Analysis of Migrations and Public and Family Records show 12th Century Semitic Roots.* Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland and Company: |
| Howell, Margaret [1987] | "The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort." *English Historical Review* 102 (1987), 372-93 |
| Howell, Margaret [1998] | *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell |
| Hyamson, Albert M. [1908] | *A History of The Jews in England.* Jewish Historical Society Of England London: Chatto & Windus |
| Inderwick, F. A. [1892] | *The story of King Edward and New Winchelsea; the edification of a Mediæval town.* London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Company |
| Jacob, Kenneth W. [2014] | *A Vignette of Jacobs of the Cinque Ports and Elsewhere in 12th – 15th Centuries* (online) |
| Jacobs, Joseph & Lucien Wolf [2010] | *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History.* Memphis Tennesee: General Books LLC |
| Jacobs, Joseph [1888] | "The London Jewry", *Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* |

(London: Publication of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibit, Office of the "Jewish Chronicle", 1888)

Jacobs, Joseph [1888] , *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities: Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions.* Jewish Historical Society of England London: Union College, 1949.

Jacobs, Joseph [1893] *The Jews of Angevin England*. London: David Nutt

Jacobs, Joseph [1898] "Aaron of Lincoln." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Jul., 1898), pp. 629-648

Jewish Virtual Library "Bankers and Banking: Jewish money lending in Europe – Pawnbroking."

Keene, Derek with Balázs Nagy & Katalin Szende [2009] *Segregation, Integration, Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe.* Farnham Surrey: Ashgate Publishing

Kellogg, Stuart [1985] *Essays on Gay Literature.* Routledge

Keys, David [1999] *Catastrophe: An investigation into the Origins of Modern Civilization.* New York: Ballantine Books

Krinsky, Carol Herselle [1985] *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press

Lane Fox, Robin [1987] *Pagans and Christians.* New York: Harper & Row

Laurence, Jean-Marie [2009] "Close Relations? Some Examples of Trade Links between England and the Towns and Parts of Lower Normandy in the 13th and 14th Centuries," translated by Susan Nicolls, in C.P. Lewis (ed) *Anglo-Norman Studies 32: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, page 108

Leeman, Bernard [2005] *Queen of Sheba and Biblical Scholarship.* Westbrook, Australia: Queensland Academic Press

Leeman, Bernard [2015] *The Beta Israel of Ethiopia: Saving the Bible from Judaism Denial.* (forthcoming)

Legg, Penny [current] *Bloody British History – Southampton.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press

Lemche, Niels Peter [1998]. *The Israelites in History and Tradition*. Westminster: John Knox Press

Lipman V. [1968] Lipman, V. D. (1968), "The anatomy of Medieval Anglo Jewry." *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 21, 75.*

Long, Antony, Martyn Waller, Andrew Plater, H. Roberts [2009] *The Depositional and Landscape Histories of Dungeness and the Port of Rye: Understanding Past Environments and Coastal Change.* Environmental Research Centre Publication No 7 March 2006 (updated 2009), University of Durham

Luther, Martin [1543] *On the Jews and Their Lies*, *Luthers Werke*. 47:268–271. Trans. Martin H. Bertram, in *Luther's Works*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971

Luttwak, Edward N. [2009] *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire.* Belknap Press Harvard University: Cambridge Massachusetts.

Diarmaid. MacCulloch [2010] *A History of Christianity.* Penguin Books

McLynn, Frank [2007] *Richard and John: Kings at War.* Philadelphia: Da Capo

Magid, Shaul [2013] *American Post-Judaism: Identity and Renewal in a Postethnic Society.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Makolkin, Anna [2008] "Machiavelli's Roman Nostalgia and his Critique of Christianity." *E–Logos Electronic Journal For Philosophy*/2008 Issn 1211-044

Malvezin, Théophile, 1875 *Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux.* Marseille: Laffitte

Marshall, John [2006] *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* Cambridge University Press

Martin, David & Barbara Martin with contributions by. Jill Eddison, David Rudling and David Sylvester [2004] *New Winchelsea, Sussex. A Medieval Port Town.* Field Archaeology Unit Monograph No.2 Institute of Archaeology University College London

Martin, David & David Rudling [2009] *Excavations in Winchelsea Sussex 1974-2000.* Field Archaeology Unit Monograph - Institute of Archaeology University College London

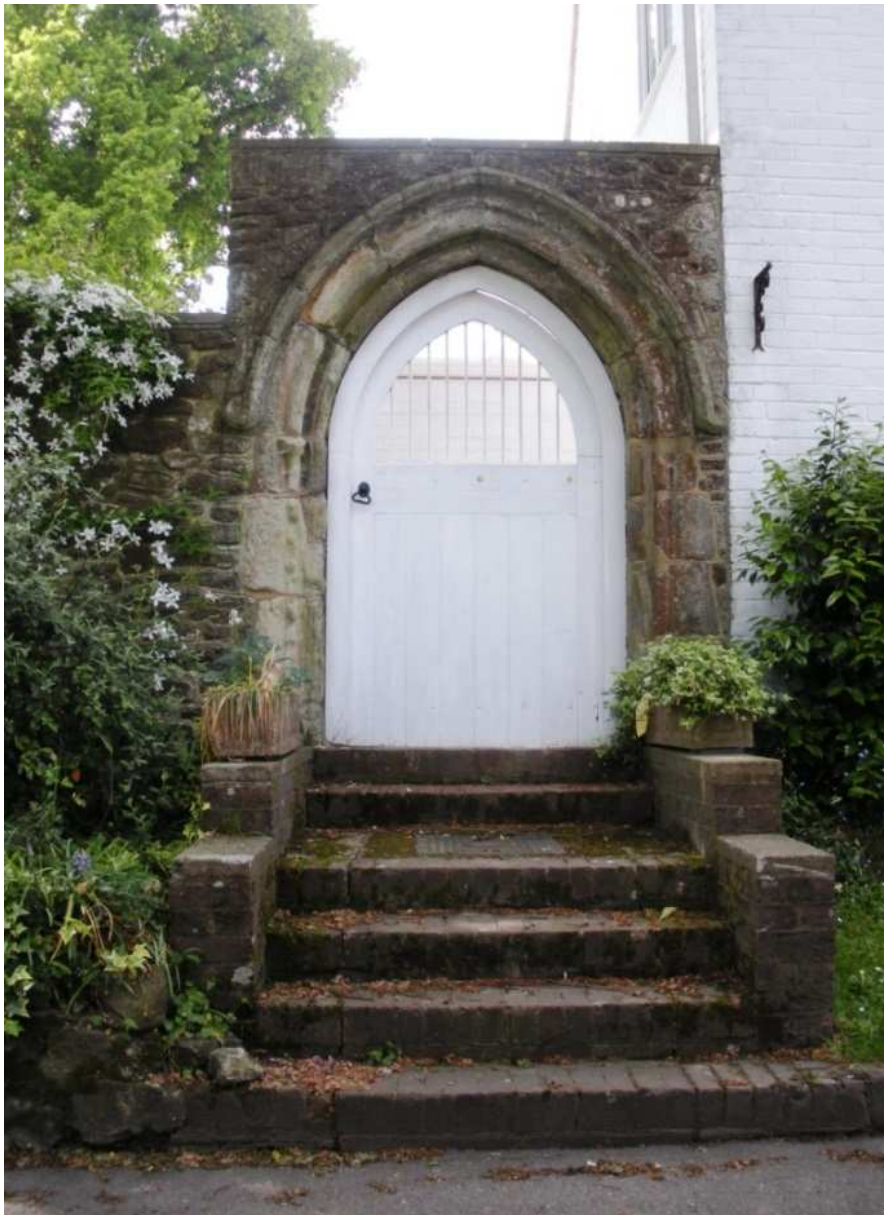
Miller, R.W.H. [2012] *One Firm Anchor: The Church and the Merchant Seafarer, an Introductory History.* Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press

Miller, Edward & John Hatcher [2014] *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086-1348.* Routledge

Minkov, Anton [2004] *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisvi Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730.* Leiden: Brill

| | |
|---|---|
| Morris, A. E. J [2014] | *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolution* Routledge |
| Morris, Marc [2012] | *The Norman Conquest: The Battle of Hastings and the Fall of Anglo-Saxon England* New York: Pegasus Books |
| Mortimer, Richard, (ed) [2009] | *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press |
| Mundill, Robin R. [2003] | "Changing Fortunes: Edwardian Anglo-Jewry and their Credit Operations in Late Thirteenth Century England." *Haskins Society Journal*, Volume 14, 2003. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press |
| Mundill, Robin R. [2010] | *The Kings Jews Money Massacre and Exodus in Medieval England* New York: Continuum |
| Myers, Susan E. & Steven J. MacMichael (eds) [2004] | The Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Leiden: Brill |
| O'Leary, Margaret R. [2012] | *Forging Freedom: The Life of Cerf Berr of Mékelsheim.* Bloomington: iUniverse Books |
| Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [continuing] | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Edward I |
| Oxford Jewish Heritage | www.oxfordjewishheritage.co.uk The Middle Period 1290-1656 in England<br>www.oxfordjewishheritage.co.uk/ Exclusion Period for Jews |
| Pacham, J.R., & Willis, A.J. [1997] | *Ecology of Dunes, Salt Marsh and Shingle.* London: Chapman and Hall |
| Page, William (ed) [1907] | "Friaries: The house of Grey Friars," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 2*. London |
| Pappas, Nicholas C.J. [2004] | *English Refugees in the Byzantine Armed Forces: The Varangian Guard and Anglo-Saxon Ethnic Consciousness*, Huntsville, Texas: Sam Houston State University |
| Parker, Larry M. [1989] | "Medieval Traders as International Change Agents: A Comparison with Twentieth Century International Accounting Firms." *Accounting Historians Journal* Volume 16, Number 2, 1989 |
| Peden, Joseph R. [1984] | "Inflation and the Fall of the Roman Empire." *Lecture at Seminar on Money and Government in Houston, Texas, on October 27, 1984.* Reproduced online 7 September 2009 by *Mises Daily* |
| Perani, Mauro & Enrica Sagradini [2004] | *Talmudic and Mishridic Fragments from the "Italian Genizah" Reunification of the Manuscripts and Catalogue*. Rome: Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities |
| Pogonowski, Iwo Cyprian [1993] | *Jews in Poland: A Documentary History.* New York: Hippocrene Books |
| Powicke, Maurice [1999] | *The Loss of Normandy 1189-1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire.* Manchester: Sandpiper Books, University of Manchester |
| Pujol, Gabriel Ensenyat [1993] | "From the Jews to the "Xuetes" of Mallorca". *Catalònia* 1993, Num: 33 (Angles-Català) |
| Prestwich, Michael [1997] | *Edward I.* New Haven: Yale University Press |
| Rees Jones, Sarah & Sethina Claire Watson (eds) [2013] | *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190 Narratives and Contexts.* York: York Medieval Press |
| Raff, J. [2003] | *Private Property and Environmental Responsibility: A Comparative Study of German Real Property Law.* The Hague: Kluwers Law International |
| Rees, Gareth E. | http://www.unofficialbritain.com/a-sussex-atlantis/#comment-2049 |
| Rabin, Chaim [1971] | "Loanword evidence in Biblical Hebrew for trade between Tamil Nad and Palestine in the first millennium B.C." *Proceedings of the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies* (2nd, 1968: Madras, India) 1 (1971) 432-440 |
| Roth, Cecil [1941] | *A History of the Jews in England.* Oxford University Press |
| Roth, Cecil [1951] | *The Jews of Medieval Oxford.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, |
| Roth, Cecil [1959] | *A History of the Marranos.* New York: Meridian Books |
| Roth, Cecil [1962] | *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America |
| Scheil, Andrew P. [2004] | *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press |
| Scheindlin, Raymond P. [1998] | *A Short History of the Jewish People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press |

| | |
|---|---|
| Shatzmiller, Joseph [1990] | *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press |
| Skinner, Patricia (ed) [2003] | *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary, and Archaeological Perspectives.* Rochester: Boydell Press |
| Stenton, F.M. [2001] | *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press |
| Summer, Montague [1926] | *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul |
| Temin, Peter [2001] | "A Market Economy in the Early Roman Empire." *Working Paper 01-08 February 2001* Department of Economics. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| Thomas, Hugh M. [2008] | *The Norman Conquest: England After William the Conqueror*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers |
| Thompson, Thomas L. [1992] | *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archeological Sources*. Leiden: Brill |
| Thompson, Thomas L. [1999] | *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past*. London: Cape |
| Thompson, Thomas L. [2007] | *The Messiah Myth: The Near Eastern Roots of Jesus and David*. New York: Basic Books |
| Utterback, Kristine T. & Merrall L. Price (eds) [2013] | *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not.* Leiden: Brill |
| Wealden Iron Research Group [2003] | *Wealden Iron.* Wealden Iron Research Group Second Series No. 23 2003 Bulletin of the Wealden Iron Research Group |
| Whitelam, Keith [1996] | *The Invention of Ancient Israel.* London: Routledge |
| Williams, D. Trevor [1931] | "The Maritime Relations of Bordeaux and Southampton in the Thirteenth Century." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* Volume 47, Issue 5, 1931 |
| Winchelsea.net | "The history of Winchelsea: The years of Decline (1350-1525)." http://www.winchelsea.net/visiting/winchelsea_history_pt14.htm |
| Wood, Michael [2005]. | *In Search of the Dark Ages.* London: BBC. |
| Wykes, Thomas [1222-1293?] | *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes.* Rolls Series, Public Records Office at Kew in London |
| Yates, Barry and Patrick Triplet [2000] | *Changes In Rye Bay: A Report Of The Interreg Ii Project, Two Bays, One Environment, A Shared Biodiversity With A Common Focus* East Sussex County Council December 2000 |
| Young, Frances [1977] | "Christian Attitudes to Finance in the First Four Centuries." *Epworth Review 4.3*, Peterborough, September 1977 |
| Zimmermann, Joshua D. (ed) [2003] | *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and its Aftermath*; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press |



**The relocated entrance gate of the Jews' Market in New Winchelsea**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**New Winchelsea Strand Gate**
**One of my family in the distant past was shot in the leg near here by the Watch while trundling a barrel of contraband oranges up the hill.**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**New Winchelsea Church of St Thomas the Martyr. Only a small section was completed.**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**The Sea Wall at Jury's Gap**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**Jury's Gap Village**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**The Beach at Jury's Gap**
***Photo by Bernard Leeman 2011***

**Bernard Leeman** is from Rye, East Sussex. He holds a PhD magna cum laude degree in History (Bremen, Germany) and has been an academic at universities in all continents including Oceania. His research and publications mostly concern the Queen of Sheba, Ethiopian and Arabian origins of Judaism, African resistance to European rule in southern Africa 1780-1994, the history of Lesotho, military history (German East Africa, South Africa, Vietnam, Korea, Japan), language training (Kinyarwanda, Chagga, Japanese, Portuguese), the Ge'ez language (Ethiopia), the Sabaean (Sheban) language (Ethiopia and Yemen), Rastafarianism (Bob Marley's ancestors were also from Rye), Mount Kilimanjaro (where he has a home), and applied linguistics. He has been visiting fellow at Oxford University for Afghan women's education.